

The Asian Review

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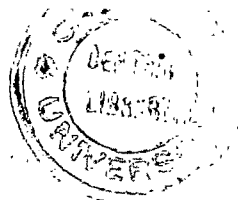
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The Development of Parliamentary Procedure in India

By the Hon. Shri G. V. MAVALANKAR*

SIR PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS presided at a joint meeting at Over-Seas House on October 13, 1952, when the Hon. Shri G. V. Mavalankar lectured under the title given above. The CHAIRMAN said that he had been fortunate enough to have very close and happy relationships with Mr. Mavalankar. It had been his privilege to be a member of the old Indian Legislative Assembly and he had had to deputise for the Speaker in his occasional absences. When Mr. Mavalankar came to the Assembly, he had behind him already a long career in politics and in the Bombay Assembly, but in their august body he was a "new boy" and they were a little shocked at the new boy becoming the head of the House (the Speaker). Within a very short time, however, Mr. Mavalankar proved that he had those qualities of firmness and competency, together with an amazing understanding of procedure, which were just what were wanted in the Speaker of a Legislature.

Mr. Mavalankar's presence among them that day symbolized two important facts. One was the strong tie between India and Britain and between Indians and the British people, and the second was the great synthesis between East and West which had taken and was taking place in spite of the pessimists who had said that it was impossible. Mr. Mavalankar had been a fervent Nationalist in the best sense of the term, and to-day he presided over an Assembly the very genesis of which was to be found in the British political philosophy and the British attitude towards life.

The Chairman mentioned with deep regret the recent death of a member of the Association who also laboured hard in the cause of that same synthesis, Sir Maurice Gwyer.

"A SLOW AND DIFFICULT PROCESS"

Mr. MAVALANKAR said: The title of my talk may give an impression that only matters of procedure in the Legislative Chamber are to be considered, but I am primarily concerned with general questions of parliamentary government. The procedure of any institution had

* Speaker of the House of the People, Delhi.

obviously a close relation to the objective thereof. Due to the contacts between the East and the West and the very close associations of India with England, all aspects of Indian life are considerably influenced by the Western and particularly the English pattern of things. The political forms, social life, industrial development, indigenous languages, literature—in fact everything in India—has been to a greater or lesser degree, influenced by external contacts. India is engaged in building up its own patterns based on the foundations of its traditions, culture and philosophy of life. The work is great and arduous, and is the more difficult and complicated because she has not to write on a clean slate but to mould her own patterns out of what had been put up prior to 1947. She has inherited from her erstwhile rulers a number of difficult and ticklish problems, and precedents which cannot be brushed aside merely by the wishes of her leaders or the people. The process of development of a truly representative government, fully reflecting the wishes and the welfare of the people is, therefore, a slow and difficult one.

Previous to the establishment of the British power, though there was no general system of elections and constitution of regular legislative bodies, it would be wrong to say that there was no self-government or that the governments were not representative of the people, or that they did not work for their welfare. We have to judge India, bearing in mind the world conditions of that time. The main basis of Indian administration, divided into several small or big independent States was the village community. The village *panchayat* was a perfect republic which managed all the village affairs, differences of religion and castes. The super-structure of Government of the country was based upon this foundation. Kingdoms rose and fell, jurisdictions changed but the village communities continued to exist in the same manner and with the same administration and the same opportunities. Their day to day life as also the economic and social conditions were not disturbed as a result of changes in the central or regional government. This contributed to happiness of life notwithstanding some insecurity in the troublesome times, during conflicts for power between different States over all. The village communities were both self-sufficient and self-reliant. They had the capacity and the spirit of self-government and also of self-defence.

BRITISH CENTRALIZATION

On the establishment of British authority, there began the tendency to centralization of power as also of measures for maintenance of peace and tranquility. At first this process was very slow as the British had to consolidate power on the basis of the old traditions. As time went on, and with the advance of science, means of communication became more

[REDACTED], the centralizing process went on more quickly. The village *panchayat* began to lose their functions and their powers. Ultimately the affairs in every village came to be controlled from some distant central place—call it the provincial capital, the district or the taluk. In course of time, with promulgation of Acts or Regulations by the central authority, the communities lost the initiative of making regulations or rules and administering the same. Power was ultimately vested in the Governor-General of India with some delegations thereof to Governors of Provinces or heads of divisions or sub-divisions or districts. Civil and criminal justice came to be solely administered through persons appointed by Governments. Excepting in the matter of personal laws of Hindus and Muslims, the entire relations of society—social and economic—came to be regulated by the State. Peace and tranquility became solely the concern of the State, no scope being left for local popular organizations for police or for defence purposes.

Governments were thus centred in the hands of the few who were not responsible to the people of the land but were supposed to be responsible to the British Parliament. In substance, this meant that the person was responsible only to his own conscience and practically to no one else. It must be said to their credit that they had a spirit of service and benevolence and wished to advance the good of the people. In course of time, they felt the need of advice and perhaps guidance from educated Indians as representatives of the people of India, and therein lies the germ of the legislative councils or assemblies of later days. There was, however, then no question of a transfer of power to popular hands. As a safeguard, the heads of the administration were given a small number of Britishers as advisers, forming councils.

After the administration was taken over in the name of the British Queen, these bodies of advisers were given the more dignified name of legislative councils, but they had not adequate representation thereon of Indians, nor had they any power. Their role was only to act as advisers or critics. In course of time, the elective element was introduced, but care was taken that the official majority was maintained and some nominations were also used to be made. This helped the Government to know and understand the needs and the views of the people but left the people powerless to have things shaped as they willed.

[Mr. Mayalanker then traced the gradual development of political advance from the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921 to the India Act of 1935. He criticized the systems of separate electorates and nominations, and said that under them the people could not be welded politically into one homogenous unit. Communalism received direct encouragement and nominations brought an anti-national outlook and selfishness.]

After provincial autonomy came in 1937, at Delhi the Central Assembly still functioned under the 1919 Act. Notwithstanding the presence of the ablest of Indians, it could not substantially influence the character or the outlook of the administration.

THE COMING OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Things changed from September 1946, when Mr. Nehru's interim Government came into power. As a result of mutual understanding, the Government was considered to be wholly responsible to the legislature and the then Viceroy or Governor-General began to act as a constitutional Head. The Indian Constitution was then on the anvil of the Constituent Assembly. On complete independence from August 15, 1947, the Government of India functioned under the India Act of 1935, with such adaptations as were considered necessary for the new situation. The Constituent Assembly was entrusted with functions as the legislature for the interim period necessary for preparing the constitution.

The Central Legislature which had been functioning had adopted a number of parliamentary forms and procedure. These continued to be followed as parliamentary precedents, with this substantial difference; that what had been merely outward forms in an atmosphere of unreality, became the substance and carried a meaning of their own. For the first time India shouldered full responsibility. Indian members of legislatures had up to then a distant view of matters relating to the defence forces, foreign affairs and so on. Now, they had these matters under their full control but they had naturally to rely, to a very large extent, not only on the old set up but also upon the old personnel. It included Indians but not to a very large extent. The foreign relations as also the defence forces personnel were hitherto dominantly officered and directed by the British. As a result of independence, a large number of the latter withdrew and the burden had to be shouldered by such few Britishers as remained and by the scanty Indian staff who were, till then, subordinate to those holding the key positions. However, I am happy that independent India proved equal to the task of meeting the very trying and exceptional situations which the Indian administration had to face at the unforeseen results of the partition.

THE NEW ELECTORATE

It was, therefore, quite a new situation in which the Indian Central Assembly and its successor, the Constituent Assembly, found itself in all matters that came before the Parliament. The necessary personnel

fully meet the needs of the administration in all matters had to be organized afresh and even to be recruited. On January 26, 1950, the Constituent Assembly, on the inauguration of the new Constitution of India as a Republic, converted itself into the provisional Parliament. The preparation of voters' lists and, the legislation and investigation needed for it, naturally took some time. The elections on the basis of adult franchise were completed last January. They were on a scale and in a manner unprecedented in history. The elections were not only on a huge scale—about 170 millions of voters being concerned—but were very peaceful and orderly. The voter, though illiterate, has shown strong commonsense and appreciation of the situation and needs, by casting his vote for the party which had carried on till then the struggle for independence and had served the people in all walks of life. The elections being over, the new Parliament which can be called the first Parliament of the Indian Republic, began its first session in the middle of May. Formally and technically, therefore, India could be said to have come under a system of parliamentary government only from the middle of May, 1952.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

The Indian Parliament is based substantially on the British model, but the Indian Constitution is federal by the very force of circumstances. India is not a small area geographically as England is, nor is the same language spoken in all parts of India. The Constitution therefore proceeds on the principle of distribution of powers, the broad division being that the Centre exercises powers and responsibility in regard to matters such as finance, currency, defence, foreign affairs, communications, etc. The Centre has concurrent powers in some matters with the provinces, and it has also certain supervisory and controlling powers. Broadly speaking matters of local interest and importance touching the daily life of the community are left to the hands of the States Legislatures. All these various legislatures, including the Parliament at the Centre have begun functioning on the parliamentary pattern in a full fledged manner since the elections early this year.

At the Centre as well as in some of the States, there are two Chambers. The Upper House is constituted by indirect election through the representatives elected by adult franchise. These Chambers have no powers in financial matters though they can discuss the Budget and make recommendations which are, however, not binding on the Lower Houses which are called Assemblies in the States and the House of the People at the Centre. In matters of legislation, they have powers of making amendments which pass into law if concurred in by the Lower House. At the

Centre if there is a disagreement between the two Houses on points of legislation, the matter may be resolved by a joint session of the two Houses. There is no such provision in the case of provincial assemblies and councils.

INDIRECT ELECTIONS

The Upper House at the Centre is called the Council of States because it consists mainly of representatives elected by the various legislatures in the provinces. It consists of a few nominated members too and the House is not dissolved, but a certain number of members retire by rotation from time to time. The ordinary period of life of the House of the People and the provincial Assemblies is five years. The Council of States differs materially from the British House of Lords in the fact that it is not an hereditary House but consists of elected representatives.

The President of India is elected but, unlike the American President, he is not chosen by direct vote on adult franchise but by indirect vote through the elected legislators, both of Parliament and the States. Also unlike the President of the USA, he has no executive functions, and does not participate actively in politics. He is the constitutional Head of the Government, and can make his influence felt by persuasion, discussions, his personal character and integrity, and his relations with his Council of Ministers. I should add that the judiciary, the Auditor-General and the various Public Services Commissions are entirely independent of the Executive and have certain guarantees about their positions under the Constitution.

THE PRESIDING SPEAKERS

I now speak of the way in which proceedings are conducted in any House of the legislature. The presiding authority of the Lower Houses as also the House of the People is called the Speaker, and those of the Upper Chambers are called Chairmen. The Vice-President of the Indian Union is *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States at the Centre and is called the Chairman. The Speakers enjoy almost the same position and privileges as the Speaker of the House of Commons. There is, however, one important difference. Though it is conceded that the Speaker in India should stand apart from party strife, it is maintained that he should not keep himself entirely aloof from politics as the British Speaker does. Many of the Speakers have been active politicians, and have participated in the struggle for independence. They represent an important section of the active members of their party. They are connected with a number of nation-building activities, and it will not be

possible for the Speakers to withdraw themselves entirely from all political life, specially in view of the necessity of personnel as also the consolidation of democracy.

We have organized a Speakers' Conference where all the Speakers of different legislatures in India meet annually. This subject of the Speakers' position has been a matter of discussion and consideration. The formula evolved as the first step in the direction of evolution on the lines of the British Speaker is that, though the Speakers may continue to be members of their parties, they should not attend party meetings where various subjects are discussed, nor should they actively participate publicly in controversial matters that are likely to come up for discussion before the House. As far as possible, they should keep their minds open without being soaked with the views of the party or the important members thereof.

This has worked so far as I can say satisfactorily. The principal point for safeguarding the Speaker's position is that, he should be in a position to command confidence in his sense of justice and fair play in the minds of every member, whatever party he belongs to. Though it is possible to argue that party affiliations and associations do create an unconscious bias for or against, I claim, both as a man and as a Congressman that one can remain impartial and fair and inspire confidence about a sense of justice and fair play if one acts with honesty and integrity. To err is human, and I am sure all make due allowance for that. The restriction enforced on his liberty to take part publicly in controversial matters is intended to prevent embarrassment to the Speaker. It is necessary that, while presiding in the House, his views should not come in for discussion as to force him either to sit silent and allow a misunderstanding to grow, or to enter into discussion and take sides. I feel, however, that in the course of time, we shall be able to evolve from this a sound convention on the lines of the British Speaker.

BRITISH PRECEDENTS

We have a regular question hour; the first hour of every meeting. There is a printed and numbered list of questions and the member simply gives the number. The Minister concerned reads the answer and supplementaries follow. On an average, 25 to 30 questions may be put through with oral answers in one hour. The replies to question not reached orally are recorded in the proceedings of the day. The rules and the practice about admissability of questions are practically the same as in the House of Commons. The question hour is the most lively and exciting part of the sitting.

The procedure as regards the Budget discussions, legislation, the Finance Bill, etc., is practically the same as in the British House of Commons.

The Constitution makes a provision for the Consolidated Fund and therefore the procedure of an Appropriation Bill is also followed. As a check on expenditure we have also two standing committees; the Estimate Committee and the Public Accounts Committee. They function on the same lines as the British Committees. In respect of legislation, the procedure is the same as in Westminster, except that bills are referred to Select Committees and the whole House never goes into Committee.

In case of new or complicated points arising for decision, we freely refer to the British precedents and follow them in so far as they represent experience about human affairs. There are some precedents which are entirely a matter of outward form and have come, because of historical development or popular traditions of the House of Commons in the course of its struggle for freedom. For example, there is no need for Black Rod or for the Speaker to have a particular dress, wear a wig or come to the House in procession. Barring such minor matters, we look up to and follow, wherever possible, the House of Commons precedents. We look upon them with respect as they are the outcome of evolution of democracy through centuries and therefore represent the wisdom and experience of centuries. But we always keep in mind that the principal objective of Parliament being to decide upon all questions by full, free and proper discussion, for the greatest good of the greatest number, we have to build up the rules of procedure in the House so as to fit in and be suitable to our own conditions. In this connexion it is important to bear in mind the character of our Constitution which is federal; the vastness of the country; the question of languages, etc. We have to evolve a procedure suited to the needs of the people.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

In conclusion, may I state my apprehensions about the future of democracy in the world? Consequent upon various changes, such as means of communications, greater contacts, advance of science, etc., it seems not only the functions of Governments, but the various aspects of the citizen's life, which Governments have to deal with, are getting more and more technical and matters for the expert. While this may be good so far as it goes, I am afraid the ordinary man is in the process of being progressively controlled more and more by governments, who in turn are guided and directed by experts. It is difficult to say what will be the remedy. If I am to suggest one, I would say that we must proceed with decentralization in every respect and aspect of life as far as possible, in matters social, industrial and political, if we mean to survive as human beings living with peace and goodwill. Mere parliamentary forms, with

the substance of what may be called the tyranny of experts, will not survive even by resisting the present tendency through efforts at a popular examination and testing of the expert's opinions and views. That may perhaps delay its complete extinction for a time.

STRIKING THE BALANCE

Opening the discussion the CHAIRMAN said that an exposition of Indian constitutional history of recent times and the problems that faced the new Indian Parliament, coming from the Speaker of that Parliament, must be of profound interest. They were very grateful to Mr. Mavalankar for having tried to set present problems against their historical background. One of the best features in the relationship between Britain and India was that they could afford to be frank with each other. Everything that their speaker had said had been of interest, but he would like to pick out a few points of special significance.

In the first place they must not make the mistake of thinking that in the pre-British days in India the public did not count. That was one of the most foolish of errors. But the big difference between that state of affairs and the British authority was this, that in the British period the whole machine became much more impersonal, not subject to rulers who agreed or did not agree about the country, and although there was often lacking warmth and understanding there was not a risk when one Viceroy went and another came and took his place that suddenly the whole angle would be changed.

Mr. Mavalankar had dealt with the question of centralization, and its necessary evils. Those who had served in India had often been deeply conscious of the way in which the British administrators had eradicated local authorities to a great extent. It was a very difficult dilemma. If they were trying to govern a large country then they risked over-decentralization leading perhaps to fragmentation, or, on the other side, they had centralization and the crushing out of local activities. It was a very hard balance to strike, and he did not believe that India had discovered how to strike it. He himself was not wise enough to know where that balance should be struck, but he believed that India would find it one of the most difficult of all her problems of government.

He did not disagree with what Mr. Mavalankar said about the way in which British interests dominated policy. He was not going to be drawn there into the sphere of higher politics, but he remembered being approached by one who was worried at a boycott of certain classes of goods taking place, and he told him bluntly that he had more sympathy with the boycotters than with him and his money-making business.

Their lecturer had made some interesting remarks about the position of the old Central Assembly, and the limitations of its influence. That, of course, was true, but he did not think it was quite as true as those who then formed the Opposition were inclined to suppose. He remembered how profoundly worried the members of the Viceroy's Council used to be over certain decisions of the Assembly. He had been present at discussion after discussion when members of the Council were profoundly anxious as to what would happen on the voting, and he believed the Assembly exercised a much deeper and more continuous influence on the decisions of the members of the Council than was generally realized.

A MODEL OF IMPARTIALITY

Their author raised an extremely interesting question about the position of the Speaker and the extent to which he should or should not keep himself aloof from politics. He rightly said that what mattered was impartiality. No Speaker he had ever known anywhere in the world had earned a higher reputation in that respect than Mr. Mavalankar.

Finally, he had touched on a subject that, he supposed, was in most of their minds very frequently—the apprehension about the future of democracy, and the fear that democracy might be swamped by the experts and the control of government through experts. He thought that had already happened in some countries, and “the new despotism,” as the late Lord Hewart described it, was doing more than anything else to undermine the sense of initiative of the people of this and other countries. Decentralization was a difficult remedy and it might, in the case of India, lead to disintegration. The real remedy was to get back to the rather more old-fashioned view of the function of government.

TWO FORMER SECRETARIES FOR INDIA

Viscount STANSFORD remarked that he realized from what the Chairman had said how small a part the Secretary of State for India ever played in the government of India! He himself had been a Parliamentarian for nearly fifty years. He had sat in both Houses, and he would remind Mr. Mavalankar with very great deference—because he had all the Parliamentary instincts towards the Speaker—that a Constitution did not consist of a number of clauses; it existed in the spirit, and the Parliamentary spirit would not be found reflected very much in the Standing Orders of the House of Commons. The only one that was specific was No. 103, which stated that the Postmaster could only deliver the letters to the persons to whom they were addressed! (Laughter). As regards the House

of Lords, the most interesting thing was that from the time of Henry VIII onwards it was laid down that the Lord Privy Seal must sit on the bench with the Bishops in order to ensure that no ungodly perversions of religion were permitted! But, of course, it was not the Standing Orders that made the spirit of Parliament.

It was somewhat difficult to explain to a foreign friend precisely what was the democratic character of the House of Lords. The persons who sat in the House of Commons, of course, were those authorized by the electors so to do, and there the electorate could make its influence felt. If they wanted the history of the House of Commons they should look to the story of men like John Wilkes or Charles Bradlaugh—people who insisted that the popular will should prevail. When he stood in that meeting and saw before them the Speaker of a great Assembly representing ten times as many people as the House of Commons, he recalled the declaration made about 1922 by Lord Halifax (then Lord Irwin), on which had it been put to a division, the Government of the day would undoubtedly have been defeated, yet now everybody had accepted it. It was rather a wonderful thing that anyone then concerned with Indian affairs should see in his lifetime a dream of that kind fulfilled. He hoped for his own part that the Indian Government would not become too Western; they had plenty of Westernism here and elsewhere. What they wanted was the vast experience and philosophic outlook of India to help them.

Lord PETHICK-LAWRENCE said that he could only make the remark that he had had the greatest pleasure in being there and in welcoming their distinguished guest, of whose great qualities he was already aware. He always listened with pleasure also to his dear friend, Lord Stansgate, who had addressed them in his own attractive way. From him they had learned much, in particular that it was not always the makers of the Constitution who were to be honoured, but sometimes its breakers also.

Sir DRUMMOND SHIELS said that they were very grateful to Mr. Mavalankar for so much information about the Indian Parliamentary Constitution. They would look forward to reading his paper in detail, for it was rather too technical fully to grasp at a first hearing. He had been interested in what he, Mr. Mavalankar had said, about the importance of the village council. It had always seemed to him that in their British democracy they had a right to be proud of the local government in many of their towns. It was in such places, he thought, that the genius for government developed. He had sometimes thought it a defect in the government of the British colonies that local government tended to be run by officials, with the result that there was not a trained body of

local government people from whom could be drawn those who would, in due course, take part in national affairs.

The other point that occurred to him was the great satisfaction it must be to all of them to know that the new India was carrying on the traditional procedure of parliamentary government. The parliamentary bond was one of the most vital and satisfactory in any country, and it was good to know that India was following the British model so well.

THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Sir STANLEY REED said that one point he would like to emphasize was the importance of procedure, of which their distinguished speaker was a master. It had always seemed to him that the great merit of procedure was the protection it gave to minorities. There were minorities in every Assembly, and the rules of procedure formed a protection for them.

In India, one of the most complex constitutional problems, going back to the 'nineties' of the last century, was the relation of the Provinces and the Centre. At that earlier time there was interference in the petty details of Provinces, and it was long before they had any real provincial autonomy. In this country, as in India, with its federal constitution, there would always be the greatest strength at the centre and that was the more inevitable with the development of the Welfare State and other activities.

A MEMBER asked how the lecturer reconciled nominations in the Council of State to-day with his criticisms of nominations by the British Government in other days to bring in minorities and others. Another MEMBER asked whether there was any tendency in India for membership of the House to become difficult, if not impossible, for those who were not professional full-time politicians.

MR. MAVALANKAR'S REPLY

Mr. MAVALANKAR said that nominations to the Council of State, consisting of 250 members, numbered, he believed, only 18. These nominations were made in order that the Chamber should have the advantage of some expert guidance. They had nothing to do with any political manœuvring.

With regard to social efforts, they were having nomination of people who had done work among the backward classes, but they were there by the very fact of their services and their expert knowledge. The argument was that the nominations were for some special reasons. The

number of them was very small in proportion and they did not dominate the Assembly.

As to the question of full time service, he could not give a complete answer. Much depended on the type of work these people had been doing. But just as they might have an order of monks for the purpose of the service of the community, so he was prepared to welcome those who had given themselves to professional politics. Unless they had people who were prepared to give up everything else in the service of their country, they would not have sufficient numbers to carry on effectively the business of Parliament.

Lord BIRDWOOD proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, and the Chairman. He understood that Mr. Mavalankar was flying back to India on the following day. They wished him a safe return and continued good fortune in his office. They were very grateful indeed for all the information that had been given. It was most fortunate for India that during these formative years the highest position in the House of the People should be held by a man of the high character of Mr. Mavalankar.

Bombay **in the Last Five Years**

By RAJA SIR MAHARAJ SINGH, CIE

AT A JOINT MEETING with the Over-Seas League held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, on Tuesday, September 30, 1952, Raja Sir MAHARAJ SINGH, CIE, spoke on this subject. H.E. THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA (Mr. B. G. Kher) was in the Chair. He said that Raja Sir Maharaj Singh was so well-known for his long and distinguished service to India that there was no need to introduce him. As far back as 1919 he was Judicial and Educational Secretary in the United Provinces. He was educated at Harrow and Balliol and entered the Service in 1904. He had been Chief Minister of Jodhpur, Agent-General for India in South Africa, Prime Minister of Kashmir State, and member of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly. He had been also a member of the Indian delegation to United Nations. When Sir Maharaj Singh became Governor of Bombay in 1948 he (the Chairman) came into close contact with him. He was

going to speak on Bombay during the five years of his stewardship. Chief Minister of Bombay during most of that time; he had unusual opportunities of appreciating the work of Sir Maharaj Singh.

Raja Sir MAHARAJ SINGH said: At the outset I should like to thank Sir Frank Brown, who has done so much excellent work for the East India Association, for his kindness in asking me to speak to-day. Sir Frank is completing 25 years of work as honorary secretary of this well-known Association. He has been keenly interested in the welfare of India, and was, for three years in Bombay and for four years in Lucknow.

As the Chairman has said, he and I have been closely associated. Indeed, it was he who suggested my appointment as Governor of Bombay although at that time he had never seen me. My recollections of him as Chief Minister are of the happiest. You must have heard even in distant England of Bombay as having the most stable, the most united cabinet in the whole of India, and I say without hesitation that that stability and unity are largely due to our Chairman to-day. I see in this audience many old friends with whom I have had the privilege of working, several of them ex-Governors like myself. Among others I see Lord Hailey, younger than ever at eighty, Lady Willingdon, who adorned Government House in Bombay for more than five years, and Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces. When I came here I made up my mind that I must meet all the remaining ex-governors of Bombay, and this afternoon, with Lord Scarbrough and Sir Frederick Sykes present, I shall have done so, with the exception of Sir Leslie Wilson, whom I still hope to meet.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNORSHIPS

The ex-Governors must please remember that I was a constitutional Governor—very different from a Governor of the old days. Files did not come up to me to the same extent as in former times, though I was kept duly informed of what had happened. The agenda of all cabinet meetings and the decisions of the cabinet were sent to us, as well as the papers of the various Ministries. From time to time one had the privilege of seeing the Chief Minister and of seeing other Ministers and members of departments. I know that there were some who wanted more power for the Governors, but with power would come more responsibility, and that would be fatal to the position of a constitutional governor. The position and duties of a constitutional governor are analogous, of course in a humble way, to those of the Queen in relation to the British Cabinet.

Government House in Bombay is a delightful residence—not one residence but a collection of houses. It has gardens which my wife

has nourished and fostered. A fine house was placed at our disposal with lovely views of sunsets and forests when in the months from June to September we went to Poona.

The merger of literally hundreds of Indian States was accomplished with practically no friction in the short time of 18 months. Formerly the Bombay Government had a number of States which were intermingled with the "British" districts. All of them have come within the jurisdiction of the present Bombay State. The population under the Bombay Government in 1941 was a little over 20 million; now it is 36 million, largely owing to the accretion of so many princely states. I used to receive occasional complaints, especially from the State of Baroda, of certain difficulties encountered on account of the merger, but on the whole I think they are contented to be in the larger environment, with access to the universities, to high court judges, M.P's, the higher posts in the government service, and so on. On the whole, the merger has been useful, especially in the case of the smaller states, very few of which had sufficient finance to do what they should do for the people under them. Within the last two years we have had further expansion of Bombay City. The total population of Bombay City now is three million, which is more, I think, than that of Calcutta. That has created problems both for the corporation and the Government.

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE

One of the many directions in which popular government has to feel its way is that of education. It has been a cry for many years that primary education was not sufficiently developed in India. You will be surprised when I tell you that at the present moment it is estimated that about 70 per cent of the persons of school-going age in Bombay are undergoing some form of instruction, mainly, of course, in the primary schools. It is only a question of time, perhaps ten or twenty years, before all the boys and girls—I emphasize the words "and girls"—will be undergoing some form of education. The money spent five years ago on education in Bombay was Rs. 4½ crores; it is now Rs. 12 crores. That includes not only money for primary education, although that of course is the largest part of the expenditure, but also money spent on secondary education.

The education imparted in a number of primary schools is basic education, including the teaching of agriculture, carpentry, spinning, etc., or some craft. There has been, and still is, a paucity of trained teachers in Bombay. The Government have started and maintained a number of training schools for teachers. Most of you when in Bombay only knew

or heard of one University; now there are six. When I became Governor there was the one University together with another college institution known as the Women's University, but with no statutory recognition. What the Bombay Government did in creating universities was in response to urgent demands from the different areas, and these were met sympathetically.

LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

It must be remembered that in Bombay State different languages are spoken. Certain demands in this respect have to be satisfied in each of these regions. I think the time will probably come when the language even in the Universities will be the regional language, but there will always be the need for a secondary compulsory language in the secondary schools. There are large numbers who wish English to be that second language. I remember that in the old days French was the accepted language in international assemblies. But nowadays in United Nations, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, all speak preferably in English and the majority of the States represented in the United Nations Assembly use English as their medium.

There is alongside this demand for regional language a growing demand for the division of the State of Bombay into linguistic areas. I have always thought that the time would come when the present boundaries, which are not governed by the laws of the Medes and Persians, will have to be changed and will be based largely, though not entirely, on linguistic considerations. But I also take the line that one has to go slowly in this matter and there are many problems in modern India which are more urgent than the division of the country into linguistic provinces. There is also the risk that such division will increase centrifugal tendencies and this would be fatal to India at this time. But the demand has persisted and whatever happens, if linguistic provinces are to be created, one has to think about the City of Bombay which would thereby certainly lose some of its present importance. It will not be and never can be what Bombay has been in the past.

Another problem was that of health. The great scourge of India was malaria, not always a fatal disease, but weakening the physique, especially of boys and girls. We started a few years ago the use of D.D.T. and it was extraordinary to note how quickly malaria decreased with the widespread use of this preparation. In one place it was stated that malaria has practically ceased. Our scheme has been extended now to nine other districts in the State of Bombay and it is proposed gradually to extend it to the whole of the area. The death rate has gone down in the State

of Bombay to 18 per 1,000, and all of you who knew India, thirty or forty years ago will agree that this is a remarkably low rate.

DR. MALAN'S MISSTATEMENTS

We have now six medical colleges; a short time ago there were only two—both in Bombay. I saw the other day a statement by Dr. Malan. By the way, Dr. Malan when I first went to South Africa as Agent-General for India, was one of the first to welcome me, so that I have nothing personal against him. His statement was the rather rash one that Indians in South Africa wanted to oust Europeans and also that the Africans and Indians in South Africa have more rights than the “untouchables” in India—a most staggering statement. As you know, the so-called “untouchables” have the same rights as anybody else so far as the public services are concerned. They have special concessions, seats are reserved for them in the various Legislatures; in fact the word “untouchable” is very seldom used now. Whereas five years ago there were sixteen hostels for them, when I left there were no fewer than 167. They have also certain economic privileges. Any waste land which the Government wishes to give over to non-official use is first offered to them. My memory goes back for thirty or forty years, and I have seen an enormous difference in the state of the “untouchables.”

You must also include in this consideration the backward classes. The Government has done a great deal for them. Co-operative societies have been started on their behalf; they have free education, etc. I admit that there are still some undesirable social prejudices, but these are nothing like what they were, and with the spread of education among the “untouchables” a better state of affairs will come into being. Incidentally we have now no such communities as criminal tribes. These have been absorbed and so to speak, treated as part of the general population. I remember that I used to hear complaints that the criminal tribes were still active in their old pursuits, but I used to say that it was only a question of time and that a great deal could be done to help the situation.

RURAL NEEDS

Now there is the question of food. Prices have soared higher than here. In Bombay State prices are higher than in the days before the last war and that has created a number of difficulties, but on the whole the Government of India has done very well. The present monsoon period has been a good one on the whole throughout India, and it is to be hoped that the food situation will improve as a result. A few years ago the Prime

Minister of India urged the Provincial Governments to grow more food. Not as much has been done in this direction as we wanted to do, but something has been done by deep ploughing and so forth, and the number of agricultural schools has increased to sixteen. We have now two more agricultural colleges; but still very much remains to be done.

Bombay is and has been one of the least irrigated States in the whole of India; only 4 per cent of our cultivated land is under irrigation; that is an extraordinarily small proportion and has been a great disadvantage to us. Therefore we are pushing on with irrigation projects as fast as we can. It is hoped that these projects will come into being before very long. The idea is to produce by this means something like 200,000 tons more food grains than we have at present.

In Bombay co-operation has spread to an extent which many find astonishing. I remember going to one district where I was told that half the population came within the purview of the co-operative credit societies. A million people are now members of such societies and the number of the societies during the last five years has almost doubled; there are now 10,000 co-operative credit societies. It has been very helpful to the backward classes for the distribution of their forest produce and for other needs.

Bombay has been for many years the most highly industrialized State in India. It is true that we have labour difficulties. The labourer does not work with quite the same energy and effectiveness as in the old days. I think the millowners have to blame themselves to some extent; not a little of the responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs rests upon the millowners. One of the policies of the Bombay Government is to encourage the provision of habitable premises. They are also setting up crèches where women labourers may come and leave their children. We have passed an Industrial Disputes Act and set up a Court of Arbitration, so that when there is a strike the resort to arbitration by both employers and employed should be undertaken with the minimum of delay. The number of strikes last year was less than the year before and in that year it was less than in the year preceding. I am not wholly optimistic about the future but one must hope for the best.

A THORNY SUBJECT

Now I come to the thorny subject of prohibition. To be quite frank, I am not addicted to liquor; I am perhaps prejudiced in the matter. As far as I know there was little or no opposition to the inclusion of the direction regarding prohibition in the Constitution. I believe there was not a single vote in the Bombay State Legislature against prohibition

when first introduced. The experiment has only been in vogue for two or three years. We have to wait at least seven—I would say ten—years before anyone can pronounce judgement on the success or otherwise of this movement. One thing that is surprising is the keenness of women, especially the wives of millhands, on prohibition. They are getting now more money for children's clothes and so on. Drinking habits were slowly beginning to permeate amongst the students, and one effect of prohibition will be to lessen the opportunities for young men to get liquor, and to stop the use of alcohol in circles where you and I would think it certainly undesirable. That has been a big effect. Of course, there are breaches of the law, we anticipated that ; we would have been foolish if we had thought that everything was plain sailing. It will not be that for some time. It is difficult for one State to carry out a prohibition policy if adjoining States do not have prohibition. We must hope for the best. I think that a good beginning has been made.

I could go on indefinitely on various subjects. I might point, for example, to what has been done in the way of provision of pure milk. The old unhygienic methods of milk production and distribution have been to a large extent eliminated. A milk colony has been set up twenty miles away from the city, and pure milk, pasteurized, is now supplied at a reasonable rate to a large percentage of the population of Bombay.

In respect to the five-year plan. Bombay is going to spend Rs. 120 crores from 1952 onwards on plans for social welfare and education and public health, also on major irrigation projects. On social welfare my wife should have spoken instead of me, because she has played a large part in what has been done. Work has been undertaken for the reform of delinquents, for the help of the deaf and dumb, for the Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association, and here my wife has done wonderful work and has had the assistance of many other ladies.

The relations between the British and Indian communities in the City and State of Bombay are extremely good and have been increasingly so ; I can say this without any mental reservation whatever. Those of you who have visited Bombay during the last few years can testify to the truth of that. It has been one of the great achievements of Indian independence. There was a certain amount of friction in the old days (though even then always much less in Bombay than elsewhere because of its cosmopolitan character) the friendly feeling between the British and the Indians has increased markedly during the last five years in India's finest city. Bombay is cosmopolitan; every community is found there. The days of the Hindu-Muslim riots have gone. I tell you that Bombay State is the most progressive in the whole of India.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER'S COMMENTS

The CHAIRMAN said that he was connected with the administration of the State of Bombay first in 1937 and again in 1946, and it was from 1946 to 1952 that Sir Maharaj Singh had served as Governor of Bombay. Those years were certainly eventful in the history of the world. A devastating war, affecting the social, political, and economic life of all the countries of the world had just ended. India gained her political freedom, and it was to the credit of the British Government and of this country and its people that that achievement was carried through in the most happy, cordial, and sympathetic way, with the result that in India they had had every opportunity to carry through whatever policy they had in view.

With this freedom, however, came difficult problems. There was the question of partition, and there were a very large number of refugees and displaced persons who came into Bombay and whose provision and rehabilitation was a very difficult job. He was happy to say that they had pretty nearly all been now absorbed. During the war the whole attention of the Government had been concentrated on winning the war and there was no time to devote to normal administration or schemes of reform. To this task they afterwards addressed themselves and did all they could to make up for the time that was lost. They had a post-war reconstruction plan in which more help was given to agriculture and educational reform and in which prohibition was introduced. A sum of Rs. 75 crores was set apart for that reconstruction plan.

THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

The first item which had their attention was education. After this they took up a programme of irrigation, road making, and agricultural reform. Agricultural reform included prevention of fragmentation and the consolidation of the tenure of the holding which used to be extremely small. They had now, as Sir Maharaj Singh had said, 70 per cent of the children in schools and they had a large programme of social education. They initiated a programme of what they used to call adult education but what was now called "social education," with its emphasis more on community life, education through films, and so on. The matter of education was first taken up for the age group 7 to 11. In the merger States the educational conditions were very backward. Among about 120 villages in one particular state there were only six or seven schools. To make up this leeway was a very considerable task indeed. Of course, not everyone who took the school examinations wanted to go on to the

university, but they were expected to go into public life or commercial life.

Sir Maharaj Singh had told them about the extent of higher education. The audience would be glad to hear that there were six engineering colleges in place of one, six medical colleges in place of two, and three agricultural colleges. There was also a big scheme of library extension. The Royal Asiatic Society's library, with which most of them who had been in Bombay would be acquainted, used to be open only to those who could pay a large admission fee; it was now at the disposal of any man in the street.

Public health was taken up in a very large way. The supply of rural drinking water was one of the subjects which received attention. He thought they could claim to have achieved a measure of success in establishing harmonious relations between labour and employers. So far as industry was concerned they had both policies of State effort and private enterprise. He had no doubt that when the irrigation schemes got going food would not be the difficult problem in Bombay that it had been in the past. The development of electricity had also been undertaken. He felt that the middle classes, such as the people who worked in shops and post offices and so on, had no doubt suffered because their salaries had not undergone an increase proportionate to that of other classes in the community. But that was the result of the revolution, which was not only an economic but a social revolution. The large numbers of economically depressed people had now improved their condition, even though others were not economically as well off as they had expected to be.

India was now a secular State providing certain fundamental guarantees, and they in Bombay could confidently assert that in all these matters they had been true to what had been laid down in the Constitution of the country. He did not propose to take up more of their time. He would say only that various measures had been planned which could not have been carried out with the same vigour and effectiveness if they had not had provision for them in the Constitution of the free Republic. This had put them on the right road, and he had no doubt that the progress they had been able to make during the last five years would be eclipsed by the achievements of the next five years.

SPEECHES OF FORMER GOVERNORS

The Earl of SCARBROUGH extended to the new High Commissioner for India in London the very warmest possible welcome. They all hoped that they would often see him at the Association during his term of office.

He had been impressed that afternoon with the enormous amount of activity that had been going on in Bombay during the past five years, and he thought that as Sir Maharaj Singh enumerated some of the things which had been done that he could detect the hand of the Prime Minister who was now the High Commissioner. The figures regarding education were impressive, and all of them would hope that all these activities would continue to be successful and would make the people in this delightful part of India happy and prosperous.

One thing which had come home to him that day was the reference to prohibition. One of the most difficult things he was called upon to do during his own Governorship of Bombay was to affix the necessary signature that made the Prohibition Bill an Act. But it was a constitutional Act, passed by the Legislature and on the advice of the Ministers. In carrying out the policy after the Ministry resigned he was confronted by every kind of difficulty; nevertheless, he did his best to carry out what had become the law of the Province.

It had been a great pleasure to listen to all that had been done in the State and City of Bombay under the new ægis.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES said that he was delighted to be able to say a word or two of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman. A few years ago he travelled across India and it was one of his great regrets that although he stayed two nights in the second city of India, namely Calcutta, and also in Karachi, he could not get down to Bombay at all, but he was indeed glad to hear that things were going well in the greatest city of India. He thought that anybody present who had come with a slightly uncertain mind as to which was the greatest city of India would have been decided by what the lecturer and the chairman had said. Bombay was not only the finest but the most delightful city; it was also the most cosmopolitan, and in every respect one could not be called upon to spend a happier or, he hoped, a more useful time than in the tenure of office as its Governor.

He often thought of those days and of the many friends they had had in all parts of the State and city. He himself had had considerable dealings with Mr. Gandhi: he thought he had a record conversation with him, for it lasted three-and-a-half hours, and in that time they discussed every sort of Indian problem with the utmost friendliness. Although he had been the instrument for restricting his activities two or three times, Gandhi bore him no ill-will, and he recalled that conversation with great interest.

There were two things in particular he desired to accentuate in what Sir Maharaj had said. One was the question of village improvement.

He hoped that the position in that respect was still improving. In the Bombay Presidency they tried to carry out a pioneer movement in that direction, and he had been so pleased to hear recently that the organization then set up was still in being. The other point was untouchability; on this too, Sir Maharaj Singh's statement was good hearing.

He was very glad to be present and to be able to thank the chairman and the lecturer for telling them so much about the present position in Bombay—a matter of such interest especially to those who had served there.

PROHIBITION AND THE HIGH COURT

Sir JOHN BEAUMONT (former Chief Justice of Bombay High Court) said that that day they welcomed a new High Commissioner. All those who were in Bombay from 1937 onwards knew him when he first became Prime Minister. He (Sir John) knew him for a few years before that when he was practising as a solicitor in Bombay and had some very distinctive views on legal education.

On the subject of prohibition, it was true that Lord Scarbrough signed that law, but the present speaker was one of the judges who declared it to be illegal. It was not a question of the policy itself but of the method of carrying it out in which illegality was alleged. He agreed with the lecturer that it was an extremely interesting experiment. He did not start with any personal bias in favour of it, but rather the contrary, because, like most Englishmen, if he was told that he must not do something he had every impulse to do it. But he felt that it would have avoided a great many social evils if from the beginning of civilized society the use of alcohol had been restricted to the medical profession. As things were, he was not sure that prohibition was the best way of tackling the subject, but it would be, as had been said, ten years before they were able to say definitely whether or not the Bombay experiment had succeeded. Prohibition in America had given rise to certain criminal tendencies.

On the question of the criminal tribes, the lecturer had said that these had now been absorbed in the community and there was no longer the existence of a criminal tribe. This was no doubt a very good thing, though if he were living in India he would be selfishly glad to live in a neighbourhood which had not absorbed too many members of the criminal tribes.

RETENTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Dr. MALAIPERUMAN spoke of the importance of preserving the English language in India. He believed that if it had not been for the fact that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru had mastered the English language so

thoroughly they would not have been able to state their case so ably to the rest of the world. He desired to know what was being done to prevent deterioration of teaching of the English language. Was there a danger of the lowering of university standards?

Mr. CHINNA DURAI strongly supported these views in advocacy of the preservation of teaching of English.

Raja Sir MAHARAJ SINGH, after thanking the various speakers for their remarks, said with regard to prohibition this was an experiment. As he had said before, it was a directive under the constitution. A democratic Parliament was responsible for it, and while the directive was there the Governments had to act upon it.

As to the English language, there had been some deterioration in the knowledge of English, but it had to be remembered that it was the policy of the Government of India that there should be a uniform language as far as possible for the whole or most of India. Independent countries had their own languages, and that was why Hindi had been put forward as the language most likely to unify India. But it was the desire of all State Governors to encourage the use of English as a second language. He had little doubt that Bombay would remain as cosmopolitan as ever with English as its main language. He agreed that there was a danger of university standards being lowered. One way of meeting this would be the holding of periodical university conferences. These would be most desirable as a co-ordinating factor.

Mrs. MUNSIFF wished to be associated on behalf of the women of India with the thanks due to Sir Maharaj Singh and to His Excellency.

Lord HAILEY, in proposing a vote of thanks, desired for his own part to join in the welcome given to the new High Commissioner. They all knew his high abilities and his reputation for straightforwardness, a quality the English appreciated more than any other. He repeated also the welcome given to Raja Sir Maharaj Singh. The speaker could boast of a very old acquaintance with the lecturer's family, dating from about 1896. Sir Maharaj Singh had himself illustrated in what he had said to them that afternoon the qualities which had made him such a success in the public service, for he had an admirable capacity for getting on with all classes of persons, and had shown them that day a broadminded view of events in India. Those who came from other parts of India were prepared to agree that Bombay occupied the high position which Sir Maharaj Singh had claimed for it, but he, the speaker, also reflected that one of the best things that Bombay had ever done was to have taken a Governor from the United Provinces.

East India Association

Annual Reception

PRESENTATION TO SIR FRANK BROWN, CIE

THE COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION held a Reception at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, S.W.7, on Thursday, October 16, 1952, when the PRESIDENT, the Right Hon. the Lord Hailey made a presentation to Sir Frank Brown, on behalf of members, as a token of their appreciation of Sir Frank's 25 years service as Honorary Secretary. More than 300 guests were present and the speeches were frequently applauded.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, Chairman of Council, said that the Reception in honour of Sir Frank Brown offered a welcome opportunity of expressing the Association's appreciation of his long service of 25 years as Honorary Secretary, and of making him a presentation as a symbol of that appreciation and of the high regard which all members had for him. With the approval of his fellow members of Council, continued Sir John, he had written to members inviting subscriptions. The response enabled them to present Sir Frank with a permanent memento as well as a cheque. The idea had been that the memento should take the form of plate, but Sir Frank favoured a gold wrist watch, and the Council acceded to his wish. The gold wrist watch was suitably inscribed and had a gold wrist band, which was not too ornate. A little over £230 had been received; the wrist watch cost about £87, so that Sir Frank would that afternoon be given a cheque for £145. Subscriptions were still being received, particularly from India and Pakistan, and these would enable the Council to give him a supplementary cheque later on. On behalf of his colleagues on the Council and himself, Sir John expressed his pleasure that they had been able, through the generosity of members, to mark Sir Frank Brown's silver jubilee in such an appropriate manner.

There must be few Honorary Secretaries who had served for so long a period so enthusiastically, so whole-heartedly and with such great success as Sir Frank. He trusted that the watch and the cheque would not be an unworthy recognition of the debt which the Association owed to their Honorary Secretary.

LORD HAILEY'S SPEECH

Lord HAILEY said that he could wish that all the duties with which he had been faced in life had been as easy and as pleasurable as that with

which he was now charged. A presentation was often a formal and almost impersonal performance, but this presentation had nothing of that character, for it was a tribute of affection and gratitude to an old and valued friend. For many years there had hardly been an annual meeting at which reference was not made to the services which Sir Frank had rendered to the Association. His unfailing courtesy and his uncanny gift for remembering the faces and the names of old acquaintances had become a byword. Indeed there had grown up almost a Frank Brown legend, and we were inclined at times to ask whether Frank Brown was not in fact the Association, for it was not possible to conceive of its existence without him. We would discuss at times whether we should look on him as its guardian angel or its managing director? We recognized the signs of the firm hand in the velvet glove, and admired his mysterious gift of effecting his own object without his victims being quite certain what his object was.

But all this was said in jest, and in the curious English fashion, served to convey our appreciation of the fact that Sir Frank had now for many years given to the Association an amount of his time and care infinitely greater than we had any right to demand.

Sir John Woodhead had mentioned to him (the President) three facts which ought to be recalled here. The first was that when Sir Frank became Honorary Secretary, the Association had only 300 members. To-day it has nearly 1,000. Secondly, Sir Frank had during the last 25 years had experience of the tenure of five Presidents and four Chairmen. He would no doubt tell us what opinion he had formed of these relatively inconspicuous and evanescent figures; but we at all events could hope that he had found reason to join the Psalmist in thanking the Creator for the diversity of His creatures. The third fact—and it was a fact though it seemed to border on the incredible—was that in all these twenty-five years Sir Frank had been absent from only one meeting. That he had been unable to attend was not due to what lawyers call an act of God or of the King's enemies, for these would never suffice to keep him away—it was due only to illness. We must hope that it will be many years before Sir Frank feels himself obliged to resign the office he has held so long, and with such benefit to us; but when that time comes, we shall not be able to find a more signal tribute to him than the record of this simple but astounding fact that in all these years he has only missed one meeting.

The presentation was then made and was greatly applauded.

THE HON. SECRETARY'S REPLY

SIR FRANK BROWN said that he was so deeply moved that he was almost inclined to take refuge in the apologetic remark that he was

"unaccustomed to public speaking"; in any case this was true in respect to meetings of the Association, apart from those of the Council. It had been his duty to prevail on hundreds of lecturers, Chairmen and others to speak at ordinary meetings and social gatherings, while he had remained silent; though in other connexions he had not refrained from public utterance. That day his heart was full, and he wished to give expression to some of his feelings.

First, he wanted to say how deeply grateful he was to the President for the kind terms in which he had expressed appreciation of his 25 years of service.

Sir Frank recalled that he had been appointed Honorary Secretary a week or two before Mr. Stanley Baldwin announced the setting up of a Statutory Commission to go to India to study the question of further constitutional reform. From that time interest in the affairs of India quickened. There were many subsequent inquiries and discussions and in these Lord Hailey had taken an important and constructive share. The Association had had a great part to play in the shaping of public opinion on the future of the sub-continent. In this way the Association had been instrumental in the evolution which had resulted in the coming of complete independence. Historians of these events would find much valuable material in its Proceedings in the *Asiatic Review*. Throughout the aim of the Association had been to help in advancing the real interests of India, Pakistan and Burma.

Continuing, Sir Frank said that he had been extremely fortunate, as Honorary Secretary, in those with whom he had been associated. He had served under five Presidents—and in view of what Lord Hailey had said, he emphasized the word "under"! Sir Frederick Sykes, whose presence with Lady Sykes was so welcome, was always ready in his presidential term to do all he could to help the work to go forward. Lord Scarbrough would also have been present that afternoon, but for his new and heavy responsibilities as Lord Chamberlain. He, Sir Frank, had had four Chairmen of Council. The present Chairman, Sir John Woodhead, from 1866 had had ten predecessors in all, but he was certain that none of them could equal Sir John in the time and thought he had devoted to the interests of the Association. Sir Frank had found him a tower of strength—his guidance was excellent, his judgement sound. If the Honorary Secretary had been kept from going astray that was largely due to Sir John!

He had been fortunate too with the Vice-Chairmen and the members of Council, and he wished to express his appreciation of all these colleagues. He must thank his able friend, Mr. Richter, the editor of the *Asiatic Review*. One individual who had rendered long and faithful service

to the Association, was unfortunately seriously ill in hospital—Mr. H. G. King, for more than 40 years clerk in the office. He wished also to express his thanks to Mr. King's successor, Miss Christian.

Sir Frank added that he was thankful that the good health granted him had enabled him to achieve the record of only one absence to which Lord Hailey had referred. He had had many letters of congratulation from members unable to be present. His son was in South Africa, and to him in due course the watch would be passed on, and from him eventually to the speaker's little grandson. The latter, when told of the heirloom eagerly exclaimed: "Oh, mummy, how soon will that be?" But several friends had written expressing the hope that it would not be soon. For instance, Sir Cecil Kisch, who was lecturing in Denmark, wrote that he hoped he (Sir Frank) would continue his "labour of love" for many years to come. "What if India, Burma, and Pakistan change; let F.H.B. remain unchanged as Honorary Secretary, ever youthful and vigorous." But the watch would remind its owner of the inexorable flight of time. He realized that the day could not be far off when it would fall to the Council to appoint his successor. He cherished the hope that when that time came the Association would continue to be a prosperous and beneficent organization. He thanked the President, the Chairman and the subscribers, present and absent, from the bottom of his heart.

This concluded the speeches and refreshments were served.

Moral Re-armament Team in Asia

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION were invited to 45 Berkeley Square on October 3, to hear an address by Mr. R. O. Hicks on the eve of his departure with a team of MRA workers to Asia.

Raja Sir Maharaj Singh was in the Chair and tea was served.

Mr. Hicks said it was very appropriate that they of the East India Association should meet in the house built by Clive, using teak he brought back from India. It remained in the possession of his family until recently when it became the home of Dr. F. N. D. Buchman. Many people from the countries of the East had been entertained there. In a sense this was where the invitation to Dr. Buchman and a Moral Re-Armament team to go to Asian lands was initiated, for in that house the Indian Minister of Planning, Mr. G. L. Nanda, became a firm believer in the

movement. He had been to a MRA assembly at Caux, Switzerland, and he was much impressed, but he asked to see what the people of the movement were like when they were away from Caux. He was invited to Britain, and stayed in the homes of miners and people of every class up and down the country. His comment was: "This thing is a working reality; we must have it in homes in India: first in tens and hundreds, then in tens of thousands." From that moment he took steps to bring Dr. Frank Buchman with a team to India. One result was an invitation signed by a representative committee, comprising Dr. S. N. Agarwal, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, The Hon. Shri Chandrabhal, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Shri G. L. Mehta, Sir Lakhshmanaswami Mudaliar, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri R. K. Patil, The Hon. K. M. Patnaik, Shri Ramnath Podar, Shri Krishna Prasada, Sir Siri Ram, The Hon. Dr. B. C. Roy, The Hon. Dr. Sampuranand, The Hon. A. N. Sinha, Shri J. R. D. Tata.

Mr. Hicks continued: In this room we received Mr. Jinnah on his last visit to London. With him were Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, and the present High Commissioner in London, Mr. Ispahani. They saw the Moral Re-Armament industrial play, *The Forgotten Factor*, and came here afterwards to dinner with Dr. Buchman. They talked until midnight. "You have the answer to fear and the answer to hate," Mr. Jinnah remarked. "That is what we need. It will be the happiest day of my life when I give you a passport to come to Pakistan." His invitation was repeated by Liaquat Ali Khan and other prominent leaders. This room has also seen distinguished visitors from Burma: Aung San, U Tin Tut, and the present Prime Minister, U Nu. The invitation of the last of these to Dr. Buchman to Burma was backed by a unanimous resolution passed at a meeting of leading abbots and monks in the audience hall of the Swedagon Pagoda in Rangoon.

The speaker then described the background of the team's visit to India. The country was changing fast: the biggest general elections ever held had just taken place quietly, people showing great appreciation of the issues at stake. On the other hand, the unity India enjoyed during her struggle for independence was in danger of being lost. Leaders whom the speaker met were looking hopefully to Moral Re-Armament as a force and an idea in which Indians could play a full part and felt that it was in tune with the true longings of the East. Neither the materialism of the Right, nor the materialism of the Left, had the answer: Moral Re-Armament was neither anti-Communist nor anti-Capitalist, it was pro-change. In Moral Re-Armament East met West, and all changed.

Mr. Hicks spoke of the amazing and exhilarating reception which Moral Re-Armament is having. An advance team had been received by the

Governors of the U.P., West Bengal, East Punjab, Orissa, and Bombay; all of whom held special parties to hear about Dr. Buchman's visit. The Speaker of the House of the People at Delhi called the members together to see MRA films and the President of India asked that they should be shown to him. The main force of 140 were about to set out, taking with them four plays which demonstrated what Moral Re-Armament was.

Among the team were two men who for 25 years were in the hard core of the Communist Party in the Ruhr, a general, an admiral, an Irish Senator, a newspaper woman from Denmark, a Dutch docker, a French Resistance leader, an industrialist from Canada. There were a hundred, mostly youths to make up many in the casts. The tour would open with "An Asian Assembly for Moral Re-Armament" in Colombo. The team would then travel to India; thence to Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, and Japan, which they reach in May.

Sir MAHARAJ SINGH spoke from the Chair of the great value of Mr. Hicks' work in India. He added that his own stay in Dr. Buchman's home during the past two weeks had convinced him of the importance of Moral Re-Armament: most of all its international character had impressed him.

Replying to a question as to how the team would be financed, Mr. HICKS stated that a committee in India, headed by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, would be responsible for the expenses of the party inside India. The party of 140 were travelling East in three planes, only one of which was already paid for. The whole party received no salary and gave their services free.

The Trend of Education in Britain

THE USUAL term-time early evening party for students from India, Pakistan, and Burma, and a few British contemporaries, was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies on 7th November, 1952. Mr. H. C. Dent, educational correspondent of *The Times* spoke on The Trend of Education in Britain. Sir FRANK BROWN presided.

Mr. DENT opened by saying that it was most important to distinguish between trends which seemed permanent, being elements in the world-wide social revolution, and those which could be regarded as temporary only. He would maintain this distinction throughout his talk.

The present trend towards economy was a case in point ; it was compelled by the nation's financial plight, and did not mean that the public felt ungenerous towards education. On the contrary, education was growing rapidly in the public esteem. Mr. Dent pointed out that the education services had been relatively slightly affected by the current economy drive, and that financial restrictions had been accepted by the education authorities as a challenge to produce more at lower cost.

There was a general desire to provide equal educational opportunity for all. This would persist, though at the moment there were some people wondering whether too much was being done to make educational opportunity too easy to come by.

Equal opportunity involved great variety of focus of education. A vast amount of experiment and research was going on to provide such variety. In our anxiety to provide suitable forms of education for children of practical rather than academic temper of mind, we had run the risk of de-intellectualizing education too much, and this had provoked a salutary reaction.

In the field of method there had been an almost unbelievable change in the relations between teacher and pupil, which now resembled a partnership rather than a master-disciple relationship. This change had led to the development of active methods of learning, which had been overdone by some teachers and consequently provoked a reaction in favour of more formal and didactic methods.

As the practice of education became more informal, so a complementary trend sought to make its techniques more scientific. Mental testing had introduced an altogether new element of precision into pedagogy. But, once again, the psychologists had some of them tended to overstate their claims, and had provoked a reaction.

Turning to particular fields Mr. Dent noted the greatly increased attention to the needs of the handicapped child, and added that by a natural consequence this had led to demands for more attention to the exceptionally able.

Vocational education had come to the fore remarkably during the last few years. As its volume and variety increased so people increasingly realized that technical education by itself was not enough. One of the most insistent demands to-day was that vocational education should be humanized.

The universities were struggling with a comparable problem, that of how to lay a foundation of broad general education on which to build the superstructure of specialization necessary for the expert in any walk of life.

All these problems had concentrated professional opinion upon the matter and manner of teacher training, which was to-day being literally revolutionized. Here once again the ebb and flow of contrary ideas was manifest, some maintaining that its disciplines were being too much relaxed; others wanting to go still further with its socialization.

Arising from the talk there was a brisk exchange of question and answer, and the thanks of the students for the address were given expression at the close. Mr. A. E. FOOT, Head Master of Ottershaw School, and Dr. H. B. DUNNICLIFF, took part in the discussion.

The Objects and Policy of the East India Association

(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

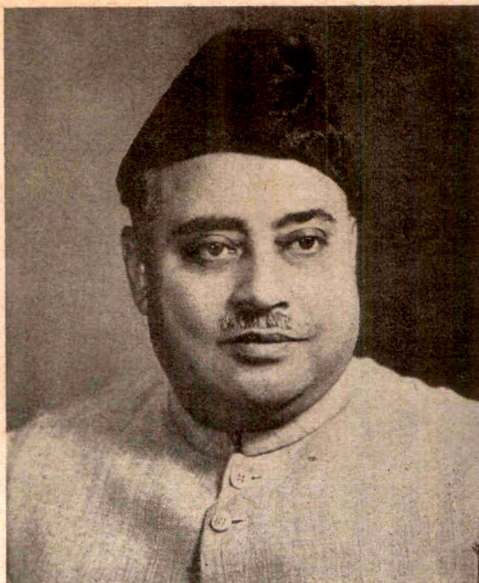
IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of "the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore is continuing its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely:

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.

**Khwaja
Nazimuddin**
**Prime Minister
of
Pakistan**



By FAREED S. JAFRI *

CONSISTENCY AND STEADFASTNESS has taken an old boy of Dunstable Grammar School and Cambridge University to the supreme leadership of a nation of eighty million people and the fifth largest State in the world.

Fifty-eight years old, stocky built, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Second Prime Minister of Pakistan, is a combination of an Islamic culture and British public school system of education. Born in an old aristocratic Kashmiri family, settled down in Bengal for some generations, his early education was deeply religious and his upbringing under strict rules of piety and sagacity. But only when nine, he was taken to Aligarh Oriental collegiate school founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, where as a resident in English House, a hostel, his education combined Islamic way of life under some great theologians with modern scientific instructions under some eminent English tutors. To-day, in spite of stately occupations and national duties—he is besides Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, and President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, he offers prayers five times a day, and keeps pre-dawn to dusk fast thirty days continuously in the year. He has also pilgrimaged to Mecca and is entitled to the prefix of Al-Haj. He does not miss any opportunity to condemn the “Un-Godly system of life.” Nazimuddin does not feel shy to acknowledge his avowed interest in the Commonwealth particularly Great Britain.

* Editor, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Karachi.

Paying a tribute to the late Monarch of Great Britain, King George the Sixth, he told his parliament: "To us, in Pakistan, and in fact, to all peoples of the East, his reign was of portentous significance. It brought complete independence to nearly 500 million people, resulting in the emergence of four fully sovereign States: Pakistan, Ceylon, India and Burma. It was King George the Sixth who renounced the title of Emperor, assumed by Queen Victoria 72 years before. His reign will always be remembered by us as the period during which the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent carved out a homeland for themselves . . . His reign also saw a re-orientation of the conception of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Today, the Commonwealth places no obligation on the member states, except those which their sovereign Governments might elect to impose on themselves.

More than once, Khawaja Nazimuddin has been called upon to shoulder arduous responsibilities at the time of great national crisis. When Bengal in pre-partitioned India was passing through a state of terrible famine, Nazimuddin formed the first Muslim League Ministry (1943) and piloted his Government through success after success for a term of full two years.

It may be said that he was not unknown to Bengal Politics when he assumed the office of premiership. As a Home Minister in 1937-41 Coalition Cabinet of Bengal during the Governorship among others of Mr. Casey of Australia, he showed remarkable resourcefulness in dealing with subversive elements in a very much disturbed Bengal. The political detenus presented the same difficult problem to administration of British India with which the Administration in Kenya is faced to-day. The late Mr. Gandhi was known to be sympathetic towards political detenus and wanted their unconditional release. Nazimuddin, as the first Muslim Home Minister of the province, which had given continued troubles to the British since the days of Lord Curzon, displayed tact and skill in the negotiations and talks with Mr. Gandhi and other congress leaders.

As a trusted Lieutenant of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the State of Pakistan, he was the first Muslim leader to be called to the Simla Conference by Lord Wavell. As a member of the Defence Committee of the Muslim League (1942) and Committee of Direct Action (1946) and the organizer of the Relief Committee for the Muslims of Bihar (1946), he had already by-passed many of his colleagues in the Old Guard of the Muslim League. Therefore, it was no surprise to the country when after partition, he was selected by the Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah for the office of the Chief Premiership of East Pakistan with a population of nearly fifty million people and at a distance of over one thousand miles from West Pakistan.

Again, when the Quaid-e-Azam died, it was Nazimuddin on whom the nation's spontaneous choice fell to shoulder the great burden of the office of the Head of the State.

After three years when Pakistan's real builder and first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated, Nazimuddin was again called upon to give up the luxury of his high office and take over the national leadership of his people as the Prime Minister. Less remunerative and far more arduous and exacting an office, the Premiership of Pakistan was no easy going a task at that time. As soon as the nation heard of his acceptance of Liaquat's heritage, they hailed it as one man. There was not even an emotional disturbance in the country. The formation of the new Government took place as a routine affair. The country was quiet and the people in deep mourning for their beloved leader. The world sighed relief because the recent history of Eastern countries had presented quite a different picture under similar circumstances.

Nazimuddin soon became a popular leader. Soon after, he was sworn in as the Prime Minister, he announced a six-years Educational Plan, which was modelled on the same system of education he had gone through during the course of his life, a synthesis of old and new, secular and religious, spiritual and materialistic.

He brings to the administration a wealth of experience extending to well over thirty years. For the first time in five years, the constitution-making in Pakistan has reached a well defined stage. The Basic Principles have now been formulated and Nazimuddin hopes that the first general election under democratic conditions would be possible within two years.

Nazimuddin knows that two conditions are essential to combat the menace of communism. He admits that Islamic ideology of Godly worship is not enough to fight this menace in this economic and scientific age. He has already taken some positive steps. His provincial administrations are initiating measures against feudal laws prevalent in land tenures. Zemindaris (Landlords holding of the land) are being abolished. Labour laws are being formulated under the guidance of International Labour Organization. Co-operative movement is being organized under British experts. Pakistan is co-operating with the Colombo Plan to the fullest extent.

Nazimuddin is fully conscious of the great role Pakistan is expected to play in the community of democratic nations in maintaining peace and order in the world. He once observed: "Countries face downfall for two reasons, external attack and internal disorder. I regard the latter as more dangerous. This is also because when a country is attacked from outside all its resources are pooled and everyone is united to face the enemy. But if in a country, there is internal disorder, all the resources

and powers are scattered and disunited, resulting in the annihilation of the country even without an attack from outside. No country can, therefore, maintain its independence and stability if there is internal disorder . . . internal disorder does not take root suddenly, but results from slow paralysis, incapacitating the limbs of the nation, and the nation ultimately becomes a carcass fit for only carrion-eaters. Irresponsible elements in a country take the initiative and by spreading general discontentment create internal disorder. Sometimes the irresponsible element is egged on by wire-pullers and spies from outside. The modus operandi is that firstly irresponsible and vague criticism is indulged in. This is followed by spreading rumours which dishearten the nation." And Nazimuddin has seen that his country is free from internal disorder at least and for external dangers, he has fully co-operated with Anglo-American powers to build up his defences.

On communism, Nazimuddin has definite views. Warning the communists and their fellow-travellers, he once challenged: "I am a firm believer in the principle of the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. But I am against the mis-use of these freedoms. These freedoms do not mean that one should be allowed freely to preach lawlessness and the use of force and that our enemies should be left free to endanger the safety and security of the State."

A great believer in Islamic democracy, he assured the world in a recent speech that the Islamic principles of democracy were in no way different to those of the established modern democracies. Nazimuddin is building up his state on the same principles.

He is alive to the backwardness of his country and the low standard of life of his people. He believes that the standard of life can be raised by "constructive efforts and not by creating hatred between the poor and the rich." During his regime extensive efforts have been made to increase the acreage under food crops, and the water supply, and to modernize the outmoded agricultural methods. New roads are springing up at a great speed, refugees are settling down and new towns and market centres are taking shape.

The main cause of the crisis in the Islamic world is the pitiable condition of the agricultural population for almost the entire area of the Islamic world is agricultural. Nazimuddin is alive to the situation. He announced recently: "It is necessary to safeguard the rights of the tenants so that they may till the soil in peace. Suitable steps in this regard have been taken in Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. In Sind, however, the condition of the cultivator is not satisfactory. I hope the provincial Government will soon take adequate measures in this direction." At the same time, he knows that Pakistan's progress

does not entirely depend on remodelling of its agricultural methods for "no country can prosper without industrialization. The Government are fully alive to this necessity and practical shape has been given to many industrialization schemes."

Pakistan has at least one jute mill to-day which is producing marketable goods. The textile mills are manufacturing 1,750,000 bales of cotton cloth. Silk mills are producing 50,000,000 yards of cloth. A huge paper mill is under construction at Chittagong in East Pakistan. The output of sugar mills have doubled during the year. At least two hydro-electric works in the N.W.F.P. are complete and a third one is nearing completion.

The democratic world looks to Pakistan as a bastion against the forces emerging by the way of Peking. A nation of eighty million, especially one menaced by wide communist frontiers on its both wings, requires strong defence forces. Nazimuddin assures his people and through them the world of peace: "Since the day you put on my shoulder the heavy burden of the office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I have devoted my attention to the task of ensuring that Pakistan becomes safe and secure and that our armed forces are in a position to give a smashing reply to any form of outside aggression."

But above all, Nazimuddin is loved for his simple life. He takes keen interest in the lighter side of life too. He is a Cambridge blue in boxing, and he still takes active interest in the sports of his country. He is a regular patron of wrestling bouts, boxing tournaments, football and hockey matches and makes it a point not to miss an international cricket fixture. A great shot, he enjoys "shikar" and walks miles after good shikar. Fond of good food, his table is famous for its rich and varied moghul-style dishes. He is frequently invited to feasts and that is where he is available to the public without ceremony or restriction. A grandfather, he is fond of his family life.

Nazimuddin visited this country for the first time as the Prime Minister of Pakistan to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference last month. He considered the British Commonwealth of Nations as a "co-operative force, making for peace and orderly progress in a world harrassed by mutual distrust and jealousies." He hoped that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, "would exercise her influence towards the promotion of the ideals of peace, liberty and progress for which the Commonwealth stood. And that is where, he was, I have no doubts, most welcome in the Economic Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for the need to-day of utmost co-ordination between Commonwealth countries not only politically but also in matters of trade and affairs of finance is of paramount importance for all concerned.

Adat Law in Indonesia

By Dr. DJOJDIGOENO

MUCH HAS CHANGED in Indonesia during the five years of revolution against Dutch rule, which started on 17th August, 1945, especially in matters of law concerning the system of government. Social re-arrangement is still going on, which may cause further rapid reforms of administration.

In contrast to those dynamic reforms in administration, private law and penal law remain, in their main features, as they were before.

With regard to private law, there is no need to be astonished by this paradoxical situation. Private law is deeply rooted in the view of life of broad layers of the population, and always and everywhere it appears to be static and clumsy and not prone to rapid reforms.

It seems that in this period of revolution it has not attracted the attention needed to reform it, and this is all the more astonishing since it was modelled on the Dutch penal code of 1886 and contains many features which are not in harmony with our view of life and with our people's ways.

There is no uniform law system in Indonesia applying to all citizens without discrimination. Instead, we have a very complex one. In fact, there always was discrimination between the several groups of the population of Indonesia, to each of which was to be applied a law system of its own, different from the law system applying to other groups. This discrimination is still being maintained, though it is the intention of our government to abolish it wherever it puts minority groups at a disadvantage.

There were tendencies towards unification of the system of law during Dutch rule, in the sense that Dutch law should be applied to all citizens without discrimination. Fortunately those tendencies met the opposition of such an authoritative Dutch scholar as Van Vollenhoven, and, in the end, that idea of unification was abandoned and our national law system retrieved. It may be that in the future we shall have to take the problem of unification of our law system into consideration again; but then that uniform law system will certainly be based on the principles of our own national law, and not on those of Dutch law.

What, then, are the main features of that complex law system? Formerly, the population of Indonesia was divided into four groups:

1. Europeans;
2. People considered to be on a par with Europeans;
3. Natives;

4. People considered to be on a par with natives.

As the legal status of the first and second groups was practically the same, there were, in fact, only three groups.

The demarcation rules were very complex and moreover, they were not clear. In broad outline we may say that under "Europeans" were to be understood:

- a. People of European origin;
- b. Japanese (by virtue of a special statute of 1906);
- c. People from foreign countries subject to a marriage system based on the same principles as the European one, i.e. based on the principle of single-marriage.

Under "natives" were to be understood the autochthonous population of Indonesia, whereas the remaining other part of the population was to be considered on a par with "natives." The term "natives" always had a flavour of disdain and Indonesians opposed the use of it, but the Dutch were tenacious of its use up to the end of their rule, though later they modified it to "Inborns." They opposed the use of the terms "Indonesia" and "Indonesians" energetically.

Starting in 1918, the year of the institution of a kind of representative body named "Volksraad" (People's Council), there came modification in the grouping, in the sense that other demarcations came into operation with regard to the exercise of political rights as those applying in the administration of justice. But in the latter there also came a modification in the sense that the three groups were now called "Europeans," "Natives" and "Foreign Orientals."

Since 1848 Europeans had a complete set of codified laws *in civilibus*, composed of a civil code, a merchant code and a bankruptcy code, all patterned on the Napoleonic codification. For the sake of simplicity I ignore the process codes. They are still in force nowadays, although of course they have undergone many reforms and alterations. The bankruptcy code at present in force is a new one, superseding the original one.

By about 1880 a great part of this codification was made applicable to Chinese. This provision is superseded by another of 1926, which ordered the integral application of the codification of private law to Chinese, with the restriction that there is a separate regulation of civil registration (i.e. registration of births, marriages, divorces and deaths) for them, whilst special additional provisions are made for the institution of a particular form of mercantile association (named "Kongsi") and the adoption of children.

In 1917 this codification of private law was also made applicable to Foreign Orientals other than Chinese, with the exception of the provisions

concerning civil registration, parental rights and tutorship, marriage and nuptial property rights and inheritance.

Adat law is to be applied to natives.

In criminalibus, or, generally speaking, in matters of delinquency, there has been, at least since 1873, a penal code and a police penal code for Europeans and separate penal and police penal codes for the other two groups of citizens, both patterned to the Napoleonic penal code and differing from one another only in the penitentiary system, in the sense that penal servitude in chains and without chains respectively was to be applied to Natives and Foreign Orientals; whereas imprisonment or detention was to be applied to Europeans. Besides, this the death penalty and fines were applicable to Europeans as well as to natives.

Since 1918 a new penal code has been in operation, patterned on the Dutch national penal code of 1886, pretending to be applicable to all citizens without discrimination. Its system of penalties covers death penalty, life imprisonment, temporary imprisonment up to 15 years, detention and fines. The general minimum fine is 25 cents, and the general minimum imprisonment and detention is one day.

Though this penal code pretended to be applicable to all citizens without discrimination, *de facto* it was not applicable to natives in those areas where the Indonesian population had the right of self-administration of justice according to tradition and custom. Whether or not this right is still maintained under Indonesian rule is not clear. It was only to be found in the provinces outside Java.

Such, then, was the law situation up to the moment of the Japanese invasion. In its main features that situation is maintained under present Indonesian rule.

So at present we may summarize the law situation as follows:

In civilibus

Since 1848 private law has been codified for European citizens, viz: a civil code, a merchant code and a bankruptcy code were in operation.

Those codes have been largely applicable to Chinese since 1879, and integrally since 1926, except that there is separate regulation of civil registration for them and additional provisions for "Kongsi" and for adoption.

Those codes have been applicable to Foreign Orientals other than Chinese since 1917 except the provisions on civil registration, parental rights and tutorship, marriage and nuptial property, and inheritance.

Adat law is applicable to natives.

As the term "natives" is in disfavour with us, whereas the term "Indonesians" covers all subjects of the Indonesian State without

discrimination in their internal legal status, so the group which was formerly named "natives" will be indicated by the term "Indonesians Proper."

In criminalibus

A Dutch patterned penal code is applicable to all citizens without discrimination, except to Indonesians proper in those areas where they have the right of local self-administration of justice.

Formerly, there were Dutch scholars (such as Professor L. C. W. van den Berg and others) who advanced the proposition that law follows religion, in the sense that when a group accepted one of the great religions, there also took place a *receptio in complexu* of the law of that religion. Consequently, then, Muslim law should be applicable to Muslims; to Christians, Christian law; to Hindus, Hindu law, etc. There might be exceptional deviations, but the thesis that the principles of religious law were the basic elements of the particular group should remain true.

This proposition cannot be sustained in face of the real facts. Firstly, there is no such thing as a Christian law. With regard to Muslim law, even adherents of adat law thought, formerly, that in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance at least Muslim law was applicable to Muslims. In connexion with this conception, special benches were instituted for the jurisdiction of disputes in those matters.

Researches by Prof. ter Haar, Soepomo and others showed that, in questions of inheritance, the Indonesian people uphold their own adat law, based on their customs and view of life. So, afterwards, in consequence of the results of those researches, the jurisdiction of inheritance disputes was allotted to the non-religious judge. My own researches in Central Java, the results of which are recorded in my book "*The Adat Private Law of Central Java (Het Adatprivaatrecht van Middel Java)*", 1940, demonstrated that among Muslims, only marriages and divorces are carried out according to the formalities of Muslim law, whereas the status of the married persons, their inter-relation, their nuptial property and parental rights and tutorship, are all ruled by adat law; *mutatis mutandis*, the same is applicable to Indonesian Christians.

Nevertheless, the so-called "Priests Council" ("*Priesterraad*"), the religious court of law for Muslims, remains qualified to administer justice not only in disputes in matters of divorce, but also in those of nuptial alimony and tutorship.

With regard to Christian Indonesians, they may choose to have the conclusion of their marriage registered either with the civil registration or with their priest, whereas their disputes in matters of divorce, nuptial

property rights, parental rights and tutorship are to be judged by the common judge.

So adat law is not based on the principles of any religious law. It is rooted in the minds and the views of life of the population and its principles are to be studied in and concluded from customs, popular conceptions and ideas, as they manifest themselves in acts and decisions of chiefs and their tribal or local authorities, and in proverbs and popular sayings.

It is evident in this connexion that ethnology and ethnography are auxiliary sciences to the study of adat law. Indeed, the pioneers of the adat law study were ethnologists, of whom Professor Wilken may be cited with honour.

Indonesians are all of the same racial stock. Nevertheless, this fact does not mean that they all form one single ethnical group. Far from it. According to a recent statement of Professor Berg in *Revue du Monde Nouveau*, there are 200 languages and dialects spoken in Indonesia. And according to the statement of the late Professor van Vollenhoven in his standard work *Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indie, Vol. 1*, Indonesia, including Irian (West New Guinea) is to be divided into 19 law areas, each having its own particular system of law, although they all form branches of the same body of Indonesian law. So it is very difficult to give a generalization on Indonesian adat law. Perhaps the best way to do it is by comparing its characteristics with those of European law, and by noting the differences.

Well, then, European law is characterized by the following features :

- a. An individualistic, liberalistic trend, amounting to recognition of the faculties of an exaggerated freedom in contracting and competition;
- b. A system of law composed of fixed clauses, which are to be strictly interpreted, as a consequence of which law-suits are to be formulated in fixed claims.
- c. Single marriage (Eiuehe);
- d. Inheritance rights of surviving blood-relatives.

Contrary to the features noted under (a) and (b), individualistic and liberalistic views do not live in the minds of Indonesians. We are socio- and traditio-bound people: every one of us has to act and to behave as all others do, one has to be common, "*biasa*" (Javanese "*lumrah*"). Being different from others is being strange, astonishing, wicked, condemnable. In short, what is normal gets a normative trait. In this course of ideas an individualistic state of mind and an individualistic pattern of behaviour and action will arouse opposition, disapproval and condemnation. Freedom of contracting and competition is out of place, as are definite actions in law, containing definite claims.

An Indonesian, complaining to the judge of another's behaviour, is not putting a definite suit, containing a fixed set of fixed claims; no, he is simply asking judgment instead, which in his mind is identical with justice. He does define his requirement, but simply trusts to the discretion of the judge in which way justice is to be given. In this way the judge is not expected to apply strict law; far from that he is expected to give a decision which is acceptable to society as being just fair, equitable, *bona fide, comme il faut*. Consequently, subtlety and chicanery are not allowed in court. The judge has to reject altercative verbal disputes and other processual tricks and to try to decide the case according to its substantial merits. It is evident that the application of the principles of free contracting and free competition is out of consideration, as all legal acts ought to be judged from the point of view of justness, fairness, *bona fide*, etc., and absurd interpretations and applications of law are to be avoided.

With regard to the third point, we may state that Indonesians, in principle, also adhere to and practise the system of single marriage. Polyandry does not occur and the idea excites general indignation and condemnation. Concerning polygamy, where the population are Muslims it does occur in exceptional cases, but it always provokes derision implying condemnation, of which people are afraid. And where the population are not Muslims, polygamy is unknown.

Concerning the fourth point (inheritance), the following remarks may be noted.

In Indonesian life there is always a close and keen connexion between social and kinship organization on one side and private law on the other side, especially with regard to property and inheritance, likewise with regard to marriage.

As inheritance and property rights are also closely and keenly linked to one another and both matters are in a rigid way under the influence of social organization and kinship organization, let us now take those organizations into consideration before we speak about inheritance.

Everywhere in Indonesia we find that the local village community is the most prominent social organization, which affects the structure of Indonesian private law. It is, then, possible that individuals are directly members of the village community. Another possibility is that individuals are not directly members of the village community, but of unilateral kinship groups. The effect of the existence of such groups on the structure of law is very considerable.

Anyhow, the village community always have the power to dispose ("beschikkingsrecht" in Dutch, "*hak ulajah*" in Minangkabaw) of the uncultivated soil in their area, of which people know the exact boundaries,

should the necessity arise for these boundaries to be defined. But that disposing power has not entirely vanished even over the cultivated soil.

With regard to the uncultivated soil, that power demonstrates itself as a quality to allow people from other communities to have profit of it—for instance, by gathering dry sticks or rottan, grazing cattle or tending flocks. Alienation of uncultivated soil is not allowed, and is void in law.

With regard to cultivated soil, it demonstrates itself in this way, that when the owner of it dies without heirs the soil is returned to the community. In several areas it is also demonstrated in the fact that alienation is only allowed to fellow citizens, or, alternatively, that fellow citizens have preference.

In those cases where there are unilateral kinship groups, as the "*marga*" in Batakland or the "*kaum*" (or "*suku*" or however they may be named) in Minangkabaw, they always act as a juridical person and affect the structure of law very actively. The former kinship groups are patrilineal, and the latter matrilineal ones. Firstly, they affect marriage in that there is exogamy—that is to say, a man may only marry a woman of another group.

As a juridical person they own a considerable part of the cultivated soil, the coconut plantations, the houses and the cattle. There were even areas as in Minangkabaw, where individuals own very little, so even what a man may gain by his own efforts was not owned by him but by his "*kaum*." That is now changing in Minangkabaw, in a more individual trend, but elsewhere there are still such customs. In that case, there is practically speaking no inheritance, as the kinship group itself never does die unless all its members do.

In other areas, as, for instance, in Java, we meet more individualistic trends, but they are still far behind the European phase.

Here, we have individually owned premises and compounds everywhere. In addition there are areas where arable ground is owned individually and others where it is owned communally by definite members of the village community—where the disposing power of the community is still so strong and manifest that the owners feel that they must follow its rules.

In the latter areas, inheritance of arable ground is carried out along different lines than the inheritance of other items.

Inheritance, in general, naturally follows other lines than it does in European or Muslim law and shows different patterns in Indonesia, as does adat law itself. It is, of course, impossible and would in any case be of little use in this short talk to give a picture of the mosaic of adat law.

A problem frequently put forward, is whether or not we should unify and codify our law. Well, unification of law is, of course, useful and

makes it easy to administer. Codification of law arouses considerable objections—for instance, that it fixes it and consequently puts it in a static condition, whereas life is dynamic, *a fortiori* in modern times. So codification, on account of this contradiction, will create much inconvenience.

Moreover, you cannot alter social conditions by making laws, as many people in Indonesia expect.

In my opinion, law has to adjust itself to social conditions. You cannot unify law where social conditions do the converse. You cannot codify and fix the law where social conditions are, by nature, dynamic and changing from day to day. And this process of adjustment should be carried out, not by the legislative body which is clumsy, but by the judge who is able to give decisions according to concrete needs and circumstances—the more so where, as in Indonesia, the judge has a very, very active role in judgment, where he has to administer law (which ought to be identic with justice), where he is judge, prosecutor, defendant, solicitor and barrister, not to one of the parties in dispute, but to both; in short, where he is the trustee of both parties, who expect justice in the highest sense of the word from him.

So the judge should be like fire, which burns impurity; like water, which cleans dirtiness; like the sun, which illuminates the world.

So in preference to codification we should have judges who are educated in the maintenance of the high ideals of justice.

Sadiq Hedayat

By HENRY D. G. LAW, CIE

THE SUDDEN and tragic death of Sadiq Hedayat a year or more ago removed from the scene of contemporary Persian literature one of its most striking personalities and, so far as fiction is concerned the most prolific, the most eminent and at the same time perhaps the most controversial writer in Persia. There will be many judgments passed on his work by his fellow countrymen; and these judgments will be based on an estimate of his place in Persian literature viewed from one of two stand-points: that of the conservatives who value tradition highly, who venerate the past and find it hard to adapt themselves to the notion of a “popular” literature; a literature written about and for the ordinary people; and a

style of writing, in the manner and idiom of the common folk, which will be condemned by these critics as the debasement of a precious coinage. There will be others; however, who see in the work of Hedayat something new, exciting and alive, who regard his style as the enrichment of the Persian language and a source of fresh life and vigour.

It might seem prudent to leave it to the Persians themselves to fight out the issue and pass the final judgment. Nevertheless it is tempting to a foreigner who has read and enjoyed much of Hedayat's work to attempt an estimate of his contribution to the literature of his country.

Sadiq Hedayat came from a family distinguished for generations in official and cultured life of Persia. From the point of view of literary attainments Sadiq Hedayat may be counted the most distinguished of them all, by reason of the amount, variety, and originality of his work which includes four volumes of short stories, five novels, a book of travel, a critique of Omar Khayyám, and two collections of Folk Lore. His four collections of stories, and his short novel "Buf i Kur" which is probably his masterpiece, were written between 1930 and 1943; but from time to time other short stories and miscellaneous pieces came from his pen until the time of his death.

When Hedayat began writing his short stories the "aristocratic" tradition still had a firm hold on Persian literature. It dates from the old days when those who practised the art of writing did so mainly for the pleasure and edification of wealthy patrons. And it is in keeping with this tradition that the essays in fiction of Hejazi which are immensely popular in Persia to-day and, in the eyes of the most austere critics entirely free from any taint of "vulgarity," are written for the most part about and for the gentility, the cultured classes. The only jar which this tradition had suffered till Hedayat appeared on the scenes had come from the distinguished and still very much alive Jamalzadeh, who startled (and at the same time delighted) many of his countrymen by a bold initiative. In the preface to his book "Yaki Bud Yaki Nabud" ("Once upon a Time"), a collection of short stories, Jamalzadeh advanced some entirely new theories about Persian culture and writing. Deploring the narrowness of culture in Persia, which was restricted to the elect few, the failure of education to reach the masses, and in consequence the complete inability of the people to understand and share the pleasures of reading (for what was written was obscure and unintelligible to them) he suggested that in order that culture might spread widely in all directions, thought should be clothed in the language which the mass of people would understand, in their own native idiom in fact, and presented in the guise of fiction which would interest and amuse and enlighten. Such writing would have the further merit of providing a record of the language of the

people of Persia to-day, and of its gradually changing structure. This was a revolutionary idea ; and Jamalzadeh the pioneer remained an isolated phenomenon till Hedayat started where Jamalzadeh had left off. Hedayat was well equipped for the role of disciple. He had an original and inventive mind; he had read and studied the work of French writers of fiction, he had a great gift of expression: but more important than all these he had a genuine interest in and sympathy for the common people in Persia whose lot he deplored, and for the "under-dog" in general. Like George Eliot, herself a pioneer in the craft of fiction, Hedayat held the view that fiction should be based on real experience and enable readers to arrive at a deeper realization of the feelings and plight of common humanity. So he wrote about the lives of the ordinary people of his country, which he understood profoundly, and in their own language. His characters are the whole of humanity : the humble official, the beggar, the down and out, the villager, the rogues and scallywags of Shiraz. He describes the rustics' marriage ceremonies, he quotes the people's songs, describes the wayside hostelries where the old men drink their tea, gossip, and smoke their pipes.

Many of Hedayat's tales have an obviously Western influence; some of them have their scene abroad. But it is the purely Persian tales which have the greatest interest for the foreign reader; for it is in these that Hedayat gives the fullest expression to his humanity, his sympathy for the masses with all the unhappiness and poverty they have to bear, his understanding of their minds and characters. In his story about Daud the hunchback Hedayat reveals that strain of pity for the outcast which is found so often in his stories—in the tale of the "Stray Dog" for example. The whole point lies in the last sentence. When Daud had sunk so low that he sought companionship with the utterly outcast, the dog (and he could sink no lower than that), the dog's death denied him even that consolation. The story of the woman who lost her husband is perhaps the most remarkable of all Hedayat's tales. It is the story of a young and pretty village girl who has a most unhappy life at home, with a mother who dislikes and bullies her and a married sister who despises her. She falls suddenly in love with a big, burly brute of a man whom she meets when the villagers are all working together in the vineyard gathering in the grapes. They marry; and after a few months of happiness with her husband Gul Baba, Zarin Kulah finds herself tied to a sadist who bullies her and beats her unmercifully with the whip he also uses for his donkey. He deserts her, and yet Zarin Kulah cannot get him, even the whip, out of her mind. Taking her child with her, so poor she can hardly keep herself and the child alive except by begging, she goes in search of Gul Baba; finds him at last; is roughly and harshly rejected by him. In

despair, Zarin Kulah abandons her child; and then, aimless but free, tries to patch up her life by joining the first man she comes across who reminds her of Gul Baba—a man riding along the road, with a donkey and a whip: just like Gul Baba's donkey and Gul Baba's whip. And he will certainly treat her in exactly the same way; and every time he beats her it will be almost as if her beloved Gul Baba were beating her . . . It all sounds sordid enough told like this; yet it is, in fact, a profoundly enthralling psychological study; and the way in which Hedayat gets "under the skin" of the characters in this small and strange drama of village life is a secret which only the great writers share. It is due, one supposes, to his intense sincerity and understanding. And this habit of making his characters alive informs all his stories to a quite remarkable extent. It reflects Hedayat's power and his versatility; while the unchanging atmosphere of unhappiness, misery and frustration reflect a certain one-sidedness. To all protests at the monotonous gloom of his writing, Hedayat's answer was that such was life as he saw it and as he felt it. There is no trace of fun, scarcely a touch of humour in his writing. And that gives to his work a limitation which cannot be denied.

Hedayat began by being a follower in Jamalzadeh's path. He ended by being a master and a leader in his own right. He has founded a school in the difficult art of short story writing in Persia which is now strong and alive, and showing commendable variety in scope and treatment. The work of Sadiq Chubak, Ibrahim Gulistan and Jalal al Ahmed must command the respect of any critic of Persian contemporary writing. Yet there is no longer a Hedayat: no longer that wide canvas, that penetrating understanding, that felicity of expression, and those passages of vivid description, of beauty and economy of style. One remembers especially the scene in "Cul de Sac" when Sharif watched his friend Mohsin, who was bathing in the Caspian Sea, drown in front of his eyes while he himself could do nothing to stop it, but remained on the shore helpless, or too timid to help. The whole incident, which haunted Sharif for the rest of his days, and in fact, shaped the whole of his life, has about it the quality of a nightmare, with a nightmare's sense of inevitability. "So it had to be" says Sharif, hoping thus to excuse himself; and "So it always is" says Hedayat. People are marked down by Destiny, and play the parts Destiny has assigned to them, without blame for they are without the power to shape or alter events: as Sharif was powerless to save his friend from death, or himself from endless shame and regret.

The heavy shadows which lie over almost everything Hedayat wrote are all too painfully reflected in the manner of his passing. He had always been curiously, even morbidly, interested in the subject of death. The

hero of the story "Zindeh bi Gur" was born with an inclination to suicide, though he failed to achieve it. Hedayat himself was continually repeating that death is the only desirable thing in life. One of the characters in a story of Hedayat's describes life as a prison, or alternatively, as a fraud. We deceive ourselves all the while; and the time comes when we tire of self-deceit and then must seek the only way out. Death is the fascinating mirage on the road which is called life. "Does the delight of this vision of death consist merely in the fact that it brings oblivion?" asks Hedayat.

Well: now, perhaps, he has the answer to the question he so often posed, the solution, by the way he had to choose, to the riddle which had always puzzled him. Thus ended, tragically but perhaps as inevitably as it happened to so many of the characters of Hedayat's own invention, a remarkable chapter in the history of Persian literature. To that literature, in a small sphere may be, but in a very important one, he gave a real renaissance of spirit and craftsmanship, and a striking originality. It now falls to others to carry on the work he began, and to follow his lead. The torch has been handed on; but something vital has gone; the light will no longer burn with Hedayat's vivid, if sombre, flame.



The High Commissioner of Ceylon in London at the controls of one of the new 1,000 h.p. Diesel Electric Locomotives, which he took over on behalf of his Government at the works of the Brush Bagnall Traction Ltd., Loughborough, on November 20th, 1952.

Social Welfare in Egypt

By A CORRESPONDENT

THE EGYPTIAN Ministry of Social Affairs was created in 1939 to carry out the vast programme of social reform, and though relatively young, it has already achieved some encouraging results.

The Ministry is divided into various sections each of which is responsible for the work done in its particular field.

THE FELLAH DEPARTMENT

Approximately 75 per cent of the population of Egypt are fellahin or agricultural workers. The Fellaah Department is concerned with rural reform and the welfare of the fellahin ; to this end it tries to introduce reform in ways acceptable to the villagers who are often suspicious of innovations. The greatest and most successful scheme so far has been the creation of the Rural Social Centres which may be regarded as the first sound step in Egyptian rural reform.

Each Rural Social Centre is planned to serve 10,000 villagers who contribute the sum of £E.1,500, i.e. at the rate of PT.15 (about 2½d.) per head, everyone paying according to his means. The villagers are also expected to give 2 feddans (acres) of land, and 3 houses for the work and residence of officials until the requisite buildings are put up. The Government bears the burden of the initial costs of construction and equipment, which total about £E.9,000. Half the running costs, amounting to about £E.2,500, are borne by the Government, the other half being contributed by the villagers themselves. The object in asking the peasants to share the initial costs is to make them feel that the Social Centre is their own and not merely a charitable institution. Pride of possession prompts them to collaborate with the officials and to see that full use is being made of the Centre.

The actual buildings consist of several units : the Out-patients' Clinic, the Maternity and Child Welfare Unit and the Social and Agricultural Unit. Other buildings include the rural industries workshop with its weaving looms, spindles, and handicraft room ; the public baths and wash-houses, the social workers' house and the portable water plant which supplies the Centre and surrounding villages with pure water.

Much has been done to raise the general standard of cleanliness in villages by supplying them with pure water, draining stagnant pools and marsh-land, reconstructing roads and improving street lighting.

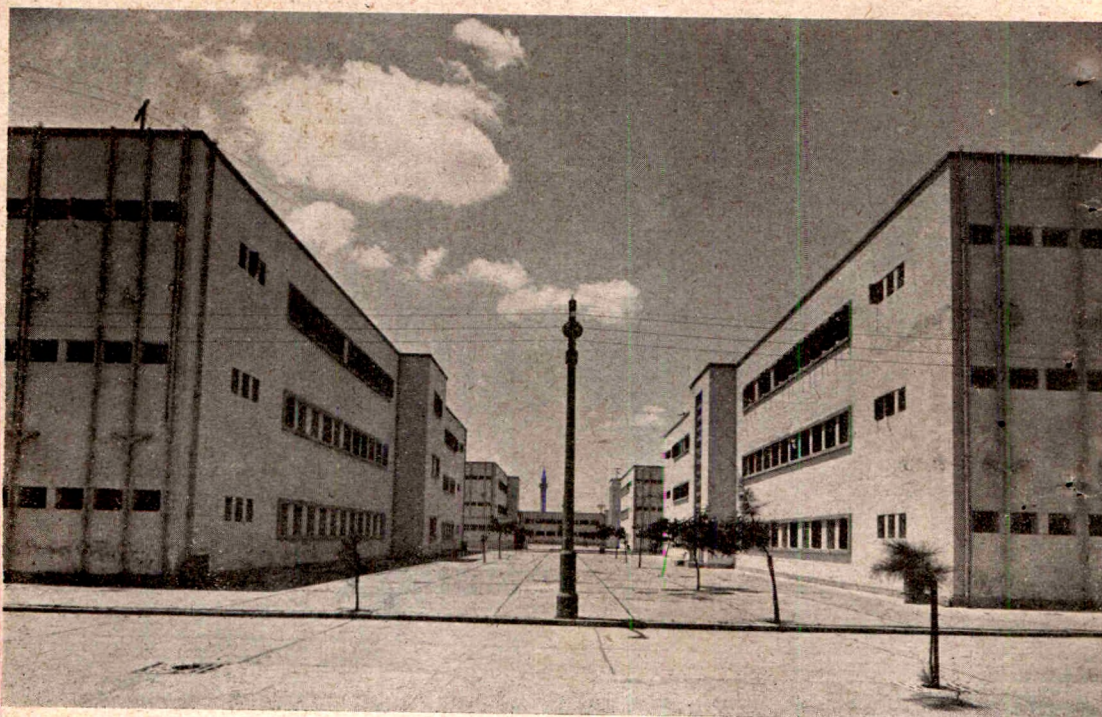
Among the most important functions of the Rural Social Centre is the provisions of medical services—vitally important to those villages which are situated far from a hospital. Prophylactic measures are taken against epidemics and endemic diseases, free treatment given and periodical medical examinations carried out. There is also maternity and child welfare, the distribution of free medicine and instruction in hygiene.

The Fellah Department is also concerned with housing and erects various types of model houses which are rented cheaply to the fellahin. In addition to living accommodation consisting of two or three rooms, according to the size of the house, there is a store, a cattle shed and poultry yard.

Work at the Rural Social Centre is carried out by locally recruited committees which are responsible for the drawing up of plans, submitting them to the Department and then seeing they are put into execution. There are five such committees : Economic and Agricultural ; Health ; Cultural and Recreational ; Charitable Organizations ; and, finally, the Conciliation Committee. This last deals with disputes which may arise between villagers or between families.

At every Centre there are three permanent resident officials whose first duty is to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the peasants, study their conditions, win their confidence and select from among them suitable representatives to serve on the committees. These officials are headed by the Social-Agricultural Expert, selected from among the graduates of the Agricultural College. They undergo a special four-month rural social service training course and on passing a test at the end of the course do another two months' practical work at one of the Centres. They are then assigned to villages where they act as agricultural advisers, social workers and mediators. The second official is the Doctor who is responsible for the villagers' health ; in addition to a thorough medical examination of every fellah he must ensure immunization against disease by vaccination and inoculation. The Health Visitor is the third official, a woman graduate of Kasr al-Aini hospital who must have taken a course in rural social services. Her work is to look after village women and their children, to teach them the principles of hygiene and to instruct them in village crafts. She supervises the village midwives and sends specially selected girls to the nearest hospital for training in child welfare.

The Fellah Department began the Rural Social Centres Scheme in 1941 by setting up six Centres which were increased to eleven. So great has been the success of the Centres that there are now 121 of them serving about a million and a quarter of the rural population. The Government is steadily expanding the scheme and aims at providing a Rural Social Centre for every 10,000 villagers in the country.



TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF MODERN FLATS

THE SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT

When the Ministry of Social Affairs was created in August 1939, it annexed to itself a number of Departments that were previously attached to other Ministries, such as the Prisons Department, the Labour Department, and the Co-operative Societies Department. The Social Service Department was, however, a new creation of the Ministry. It began in the form of a small section and gradually extended its activities.

Parliament approved the creation of a Department to group various services together and to be known as the Social Service or Welfare Department. This new Department has to provide for the creation and administration throughout Egypt of institutions to furnish different social services, chiefly to assist the poor townsman. The activities of the Department extend to private charitable societies by providing them with financial



COMMUNAL WASHHOUSES

grants sometimes amounting to 50 per cent of the total sum spent on a charitable project.

The policy of the Department is directed towards serving the urban population by the organization of institutions on the basis of Social Welfare Centres. These comprise a relief office, a public kitchen, a play ground, public baths and public laundries, as well as a lecture hall, where educational films may be shown and lectures and lessons given to literates as well as illiterates, and a health clinic. The number of non-Governmental institutions and societies supervised by the Department in accordance with Law No. 49 of 1945 is 2,684.

The services provided by the Department in the different branches of social welfare are given below.

1. RELIEF SECTION

The Council of Ministers on July 16, 1939, passed a decree regulating the measures for relief activities in general. The floods and heavy rains during the 1944-45 winter season in many parts of Egypt and the heavy losses inflicted upon dwellings and crops, warned the Government to leave nothing to chance in the future. The Council of Ministers decided on May 19, 1945, upon the formation of a Supreme Committee for Relief and Assistance within the Ministry of Social Affairs, presided over by H.E. the Minister. This Supreme Committee was to study the principles on which assistance was to be paid to flood victims, and to formulate a fixed policy for the co-ordination and efforts to meet future emergencies. It also took a number of decisions and submitted the recommendations which were approved by the Council of Ministers on July 1, 1945.

As from July 1, 1945, all work was unified and centred in one Department, which also supervises private efforts, thus avoiding duplication of work and differences of approach.

The creation of this Department met with a warm welcome from the Financial Committee of the Chamber of Deputies who recorded the following in their report on the 1945 budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs :

“The catastrophe caused by the floods awakened the Government to the necessity of being prepared for future recurrences. The Committee endorses the decision taken by the Council of Ministers to centralize relief measures within the Ministry of Social Affairs ; and that this work be undertaken by a Department that will bring about the co-ordination of private and Government relief efforts. The Committee agree that this service should co-ordinate all private welfare institutions, to be in keeping with similar administrations elsewhere.”

The Relief Service performs a social and humanitarian duty of paramount importance to Egyptian society. The victims find the provision of housing, good clothing and care in the first instance, and later financial assistance to cover damage and to start repairs.

Relief work differs greatly from normal Government routine and this section is not bound by official working hours and holidays.

When emergency demands it the officials report for duty anywhere at any time regardless of holiday, or rest hours ; their programme may be summarized as follows :

Staff are on continuous duty from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. and receive and issue telephone and telegraphic messages and instructions respectively covering the whole country wherever emergencies arise in pursuance of decision taken by the Council of Ministers on July 1, 1945. This

stipulates that the Ministries of Interior and Social Affairs must be notified immediately of any catastrophe occurring in the different provinces or districts.

Upon the notification of any calamity, representatives of the service and workers are rushed to the scene to help the victims; first, to distribute emergency relief supplies, such as flour and bread; this is done jointly with the provincial staff. In addition, supplies are issued from the provincial depot and camps are set up to house the victims.

As soon as first aid relief measures are completed, an administrative committee is formed consisting of the Police Inspector of the affected area, the Omda (head of a village), his assistant, the Revenue Collector and two others: Its duties are to investigate the situation of victims and their losses and to estimate the amount of monetary compensation due to deserving victims, in accordance with the principles laid down by the Council of Ministers; such compensation has to be approved later by the Minister and Under-Secretary.

The Relief Section often receives individual appeals and claims concerning disasters that have befallen individuals. These cases are investigated in Cairo jointly with the Committee referred to above. Incidents outside Cairo are reported to provincial authorities for investigation and compensation is awarded through the responsible Committee.

Upon the approval of the compensation to be paid, the Ministry makes out the payment voucher to the value of the total amount of compensation in the name of the Governor of the province or the District Officer where the disaster took place. A day is fixed for payment to the victims and on that day representatives of the Relief Service arrive at the area and jointly with the Committee, pay against receipt, the compensation due to the victims. The receipted forms are then returned under a covering report to the Audit Department.

These principles were laid down before the Ministry of Social Affairs took over this Service, and many were no longer suited to changing conditions—rise in rents, cost of living, etc. It was necessary for the Ministry to review the whole matter, and work out a new basis for compensation.

The Ministry put new recommendations to the Council of Ministers. These include compensation for material losses to land owners and tenants or persons with other income; for loss of life to persons who support or are contributing to the support of a family; and for incapacitation or partial disability.

As relief activities require much equipment and supplies locally disposed for housing, feeding, and protection of victims, the Relief Section in pursuance of the Council of Ministers' decision of July 1, 1945, set up a main depot in Cairo with branches scattered over the country, numbering

twenty in all. These depots are supplied with tools, equipment, tents, etc, stores are placed under custody of the Chief of Police for immediate issue in emergency. If supplies in branch depots are inadequate, these are supplemented from the main depot and rushed to the field of action.

2. POPULAR KITCHENS

The Ministry also sets up popular kitchens in crowded quarters in cities and towns for the poorer people and low-wage earners. Meals are served at a nominal price, namely one piastre per meal or half a piastre in distant localities, the Government bearing the balance which amounts to four piastres a meal.

The meal is usually composed of bread, meat, vegetables, rice and salad in prescribed quantities, as well as fruit on certain occasions. Pulse is served instead of meat twice a week. The number of meals now served by these kitchens is approximately 15,000 per day. Meals are issued against cards given to deserving individuals whose cases have been investigated by the social workers.

Priority is given to pregnant women, nursing mothers, convalescents, tuberculosis patients, poor families with children, workers employed in unhealthy and dangerous establishments and other categories, who cannot otherwise obtain a full, healthy diet.

3. BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES

The Ministry supervises benevolent societies and social institutions belonging to national associations, which amount at present to about 3,000 all over the country.

The relation between the Ministry and these private associations is regulated by Law No. 49 of 1945 on benevolent societies and social institutions and the raising of money for charitable purposes. The law stipulates that all benevolent societies and social institutions should be registered at the Ministry of Social Affairs; that the Ministry has the right to inspect and supervise these associations with a view to ensuring that the money they raise is spent on the purposes set forth in their by-laws; that the Ministry has the right to dissolve such associations in certain cases specified by the law; and that no individuals or groups may raise money from the public for charitable or public utility purposes except on receipt of a previous permit from the Ministry of Social Affairs.

These associations have widened the scope of their activities to the extent that they now include social services such as case work, group or community work, juvenile delinquency cases, family welfare, social

research and the training of social workers. They also pay attention to the constructive side of social service, and carry out many useful projects at the suggestion of the Ministry which supplies them with financial and technical help.

The total subsidies granted to them by the Ministry amounts to £E.160,000 per annum, and the Ministry regards benevolent societies and social institutions as its best helpers in the field of social service, whether cultural, medical or religious, by reason of their direct contact with the people and their existence in all parts of the country.

4. POPULAR PLAYGROUNDS

- The idea underlying these playgrounds is to help the children and grown-up boys of the quarter to use their spare time to advantage. They are well equipped with recreational facilities and shower baths; and members are trained in basket ball, volley ball, football and gymnastics.

The playgrounds are open from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. for boys aged 12-15 years, and later in the evening for young men of 16-20 years.

Matches are arranged periodically between the different groups and prizes and cups are awarded ; lectures and talks on matters of general interest, too, are given from time to time.

5. HOMES AND ORPHANAGES

The Ministry runs orphanages and homes for parentless children and for the totally incapacitated.

Children receive elementary education at the orphanages in the first stage, i.e. from the age of six to twelve, followed by four years of vocational training in trades such as shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, metal work or weaving. At girls' institutions, they learn needlework, dressmaking, embroidery, carpet-making and housekeeping.

The function of the Ministry is not confined to teaching and training these boys and girls, but they are helped in getting jobs either in Government administrations or private establishments. Financial help is also granted to them on leaving the institutions.

At the homes for old people the Ministry provides welfare and suitable manual work, so as to enable the aged to pass their leisure time profitably and pleasantly.

The Ministry has recently put up a large institution at Abbassia capable of accommodating about 3,000 waifs and strays.

Officials are at present contemplating the policy of creating in the crowded quarters in cities and towns Social Centres which will comprise

a public relief office, a popular kitchen, a popular playground, wash-houses, public baths and a hall for cinema shows and lectures, anti-illiteracy classes, and a room for medical treatment and first aid. The Ministry has actually set up four of these Social Centres. Five others are being created and the scheme will be completed first in cities and capital towns of the provinces and then in the smaller towns.

The Educational Effort in Morocco*

By ROGER THABAULT

IT IS A VERY HARD TASK—strangely complicated and difficult—for a Frenchman to be at the head of the educational system in a country not his own, to exercise an influence on the soul of a people who had in the past their share of glory, their own civilization, and who now have to be led economically, socially and intellectually along the path of modern civilization. He can accept to do so only if he loves that country as a second homeland, if he takes a brotherly interest in its inhabitants whatever their race or their religion, and if at the same time he is convinced that French humanism, the liberal humanism which surges out of our whole literature, out of our entire history, which is at the very basis of the unconscious faith which animates our people and which assures its cohesion whatever the circumstances and the appearances, if he is convinced, I say, that this French humanism is comprehensive enough, generous enough, sufficiently able to radiate, to bring together and reconcile the old religions that he finds there, by spiritualizing them, by freeing them of all fanaticism and of all that is not their true selves, and that must, as Joubert used to say, “create warm hearts and not hot heads.” Such is the general idea underlying all my statements in this paper, even if it seems not to be there. I must add, that the constant presence at my side of a delegate of the Grand Vizier charged with educational matters is a precious guarantee.

I do not need to recall that when the French invited by Sultan Moulay Hafid, first came to Morocco, they found a country without political unity, without security, without industries, without modern harbours, without roads, without any real commerce, cut off from the world, a

*This paper was originally read in French at the Office of the Central Committee of Over-Seas France in Paris on February 19, 1951. In the present version the statistics have been revised to give a more up-to-date picture. M. Roger Thabault is the Director of Education in French Morocco.

country whose civilization had come to a standstill. There was no public education system affecting the whole country. The only widespread education amongst the Muslims was a religious education given in an old-fashioned way, and without any true meaning, in numerous "Koranic" schools, called "msids," and flourishing in the traditional teaching of theologians and jurists, particularly at the Ben Youssef Medersa in Marrakesh and at the Qarawiyyin University of Fez. Modern education could be found only at Fez, where were taught—but subsidiarily, one might say—grammar, rhetoric, logic, and, in a mosque in the Blida quarter, arithmetic.

The primary characteristic of schools in any country in the world, namely the transmission of those values most prized by the adult generation, was thus stressed in this poor and very pious country; and those values were, in Morocco, of a religious character. On the other hand, there were to be found in the main *mellahs*, where the Moroccan Jews lived, schools created by the "Universal Israelite Alliance" at the end of the 19th century, at the cost of great difficulties, where religious instruction was given side by side with a modern education taught in French. This enabled the Muslim shop-keepers to find, among the Jewish population, clerks able to help them.

It should be emphatically stated that, from the moment of their arrival in Morocco, the French undertook to spread modern education, not only among the French and the Europeans (they would not have accepted to leave their homeland, had there not been schools for their children in Morocco), but also among the Moroccan people. I say *the French*, for the will of one man, even were he a Lyautey, would not have been sufficient for so great and so enduring an undertaking. Such an undertaking must find its source in, and draw its strength from, the soul of the people which undertakes it.

The Mannesman brothers who, before 1914, created German interests in Morocco were surprised by this initiative. "These people are mad," they went about saying. But this was in line with our history. And the Tharaud brothers might go on warning us, and saying that on the front of each new school built and opened should be inscribed the words "School of Ingratitude"—which, to me seems inaccurate and unfair, or rather, makes no sense. The Government for all that continued to busy itself with the building and opening of new schools.

But giving people a modern education, building schools, or appointing teachers is not enough to persuade them to learn. They must have the desire to learn. They must feel the need of it. There is, as M. Lucien Febvre so well expressed it, an "état de grâce scolaire" which is a function of the way of life of a people. People living in a self-supporting country,

where money is rare, where men take to barter for most of the elementary exchanges they have to make—such people do not feel the need of initiating themselves to signs, nor consequently to write or calculate. Add to this that there is a constant need of child-help for the most various tasks, and that only a kind of perversion belonging to a very evolved civilization can make children willingly shut themselves up in a school-room for eight hours a day, while outside the sunshine invites them to play. This explains why the “Koranic msids” seem quite sufficient to the immense majority of the Muslim population. This explains why the first schools opened for them could be filled only if the authorities put pressure on the parents.

But bridges, roads, and railways were built. Wealth increased. The currency expanded. The economy underwent transformations. Manufactured products reached the most isolated tribes. New cities upon which industry was taking its hold were becoming huge centres of attraction: a most typical example is Casablanca, climbing from some 20,000 inhabitants in 1912 to more than 600,000 in 1950.

All this made the Moroccan people conscious of the usefulness of their schools. Take this young man, for example, who, because he had acquired the habit of thinking, undertook to farm lands hitherto left as pasturage for animals, or who, because he knew how to read and write, opened up a petrol-station in his village, or found work with a transport company, or was able to go into small-scale commerce. Or take this other young city-dweller, who went into commerce and, bit by bit, became wealthy. At the same time the opinion gained ground that not only is it useful, but a fine thing in itself to be able to read and write and count, to learn, and thereby to increase in human dignity. Moreover the campaign of the more advanced classes of Moroccans, trying to get the people to educate themselves, found nearly everywhere a favourable response.

This new state of things became markedly manifest during the recent war. That is the reason why, in his plan for reforms established in 1944, M. Puaux, France's Resident General in Morocco, stressed the importance of recruiting the intelligentsia, and of educational reform. He honoured me with the task of carrying out this programme.

I will try to sum up the situation at that date. The considerations I have just developed will help to explain the figures. In 1944, Morocco's public education system comprised 95,700 pupils, of whom 32,900 were Muslim Moroccans, 19,000 Jewish Moroccans, and about 43,000 French and other foreigners. When one considers that there are about 1,500,000 Muslim Moroccans and 40,000 Jewish Moroccans of school age, the vastness of the problem at that time becomes evident, especially as regards the Muslim Moroccans.

But I would recall my previous remarks about the necessity of creating an "état de grâce scolaire," before even creating schools, if we want to educate efficiently. And I wish to render homage to my predecessors, especially to those of their collaborators who were concerned with Muslim education. They had been able to gather together but a relatively insignificant number of pupils; yet, they had doubtless spent treasures of persuasion and energy to convince both those who went to the schools, and those capable of helping or hindering their recruitment.

However that may be, the 1944-1945 programme of reforms called for an additional 10,000 Muslim Moroccan pupils each year. It also stressed heavily the considerable budgetary effort thereby implied. I must admit that the idea terrified me. I knew that, during the years just before the war, and at the cost of a considerable effort, 3,500 pupils had been recruited each year. How were we to go about recruiting three times that number at a moment when building materials were unimaginably scarce, and when both houses and schools had to be built because of a frightful housing shortage?

In the Franco-Muslim schools there were :—32,900 pupils in 1944 ; 42,014 pupils in 1945, an increase of 9,114 ; 57,325 pupils in 1946, an increase of 15,311 ; 77,239 pupils in 1947, an increase of 19,914 ; 86,453 pupils in 1948, an increase of 9,214 ; 101,155 pupils in 1949, an increase of 14,702 ; 120,332 pupils in 1950, an increase of 19,177 ; and 140,517 pupils in 1951, an increase of 20,185.

In all, 107,617 new pupils have been recruited in the Franco-Muslim schools since November 10, 1944.

At the same time, the number of pupils in the Franco-Jewish schools and in those of the Universal Israelite Alliance increased from 16,162 in 1944 to 28,762 in 1951 ; an increase of 12,600.

In all, there were 95,720 pupils in the various public education establishments in Morocco on November 10, 1944. On November 10, 1951, there were 237,859, or 142,139 more. The global figures have been more than doubled. The number of Muslim Moroccan pupils has more than quadrupled (from 32,900 to 140,517). In the Franco-Muslim schools there are a certain number of Algerian, Israelite Moroccan, and French pupils. On the other hand, the number of Muslim Moroccans in French schools increases yearly. They increased from 1,306 in 1945 to 3,138 in 1951.

2,568 classes, 1,285 lodgings, 102 workshops, 48 boarding-schools have been built ; eight billion francs have been expended on building. Morocco is taking on little by little that white cover of schools that is, in all modern countries, the most moving sign of man's faith in the future, of his effort ever to better himself.

There is no need to point out the daily effort thereby entailed, to fix the order of priority of these buildings, buy the land, draw up plans, constitute the adjudging records, supervise the work, recruit and train personnel, and house them. All this represents, too, a considerable budgetary effort, both for building the schools and for running them. I will limit myself to pointing out that in 1945 the budget of the Public Education Department amounted to 552 million francs (402 for operating costs, 150 for investment) out of a total budget of four billion 865 million francs, or 11.35 per cent. In 1951, eight billion, 460 million francs are to be allotted for public education: five billion, 460 million for operating costs, three billion for investment. Out of the total budget amounting to 50 billion 871 million francs (though not including the 13 billion obtained from France for modernization and equipment), the proportion devoted to public education has risen to 16.50 per cent. I must add that these funds were granted me only at the personal intercession of General Juin, France's Resident-General in Morocco at the time.

It would be unjust not to mention the help given in this undertaking by an original institution, the volunteer schools, schools that, in line with the idea of their promoter, M. Eirik Labonne, were not regular schools but used the most rudimentary quarters—a corner in a hangar, an unoccupied garage—and were run by volunteer teachers devoting two hours a day to teaching children. It was a great idea. I co-operated enthusiastically and without reserve in this undertaking. Special textbooks were published for these schools. Technical advisors chosen from amongst the most competent teachers were named. And pretty well all over the country, at the call of the Resident-General, persons of good will came forward. Here, the wife of a Native Affairs Officer or of a Civilian Controller would meet little Moroccan girls two hours a day. She would teach them the rudiments of French and arithmetic. It was a movement of great beauty, which revealed a wealth of self-sacrifice on the part of the French in Morocco. I must add, for it is the truth, that the French were almost alone in consenting to this sacrifice of their time, and in finding joy in doing so. The Moroccans who tried to open up such schools—where they could have taught in French or in Arabic—can be counted on one's fingers.

But this movement, in order to continue and to gain ground, would needs have had to be founded in a deep faith, sustained by ceremonies and incessant publicity. Bit by bit these evidences of good will dwindled. Those schools which had been able to attract a sufficient number of pupils were transformed into regular schools. Pupils who had shown themselves particularly intelligent and assiduous in the volunteer schools were granted scholarships in regular boarding-schools. Thus, a considerable number

of children who, without this initiative, would have been left to themselves, have received, or still receive certain habits of civilized life, certain rudiments of learning that will be of great service in adjusting themselves to modern conditions.

But if we wish to judge of the results of an educational undertaking, we must examine not only the number of pupils, but also the efficiency of the teaching. As concerns the French and the Jewish Moroccans who have for a long time been at school, this efficiency, if one measures it by the results of examinations, is equal to that in France. The secondary education inspectors who visit Morocco's high schools find that they are on a level with those in France. The results at the baccalaureate examinations are the same as those in France, or even slightly better ; in 1950, for instance, out of 2,300 candidates 1,200, or 53 per cent, succeeded here, whereas in most of France's universities the average percentage was not over 50 per cent.

As regards the Muslim Moroccans, we must take a closer look. The important thing for the moment, and I wish to stress this, is not the statistics in themselves, which may seem insufficient, but their progression. The following table shows this progression for some of the principal examinations.

MUSLIM MOROCCAN EFFICIENCY STATISTICS

	1945	1950	1951
Certificate of elementary primary studies	406	1,184	1,614
Elementary diploma (or equivalent) ...	59	227	327
Baccalaureate (first part)	17	83	70
Baccalaureate (second part)	17	45	36

The relatively smaller increase in the number of "Certificates of elementary primary studies" is due to the fact that a greater number of young Moroccans now enter the French lycées before the examination for that certificate. In 1945, 1,012 Moroccans attended the French lycées out of 11,000 pupils ; in 1950, 1,905 Moroccans out of 12,998.

But this last fact, namely the growing number of Moroccan children entering the schools created for French children, must not cause us to overlook the essential problem, that of the orientation to be taken by public education.

I called attention, a while back, to the primary characteristic of a school, that of transmitting the basic values of the adult generation of a population. That is why, prior to 1912, Morocco's schools were essentially religious in character. We have never of course in any way curtailed this traditional education. Indeed, I believe I can state with assurance that it is helped more than ever before. And we have always tried to

maintain their religious character in the modern schools we have created. At present, *muderrres* (teachers of Arabic) and *faihs* (teachers of the Koran) teach classical Arabic and the Koran ten hours a week. The other twenty hours, sometimes twenty-five, are given over to teaching the French language and, with the help of the French language, to initiating the pupils to scientific disciplines—arithmetic, object lessons, geography.

But another religion has been born in certain social classes of Morocco, which, while still quite young, is excessive and intolerant : nationalism. The nationalists want to use the schools as a vehicle for spreading their faith. In what are their desires reasonable, or in line with present world evolution, or with the true interests of their country ? Consequently, how and to what limit can we legitimately satisfy the desires of the Moroccan nationalists ?

First of all, they want all the schools to be alike, and the same programme applied everywhere. That is not my opinion. In France, to be sure, a common programme is applied everywhere, though not without inconveniences. But that is special to France alone. In the great liberal countries, England, the United States, education is based on regional and local organizations. And let me stress the fact that in France a certain correction of this excessive centralization has been effected through local recruiting of teachers, this being possible because of the existence of the departmental administrative organization on which the central administration can lean. Nothing of the sort exists in Morocco, where the regions do not even have a budget. Besides, it seems to me utter nonsense to give the same education, i.e. based on the same facts, to children who live in a coastal city, bustling and varied in its life, and to children living in the mountains in contact with an as yet elementary civilization, or to prepare for the same sort of life children who are going to be sailors and children who are going to be farmers. My life-long fight, in France as well as Morocco, to adapt education to local realities does not allow me to accept such a point of view. That is why we have in Morocco urban schools and rural schools, and of the urban schools there are those that give a general education and those that give a professional training. To be sure, there is a common element in the education given in all these schools ; to be sure, a child can easily change from one to another of these schools ; but in the rural schools, for example, at ten or eleven years of age, the children learn to take care of and graft trees ; they learn gardening and how to use fertilizers ; they begin to learn small live-stock farming and, wherever possible, the art of irrigation farming. A rural atmosphere is thus maintained which enables us to avoid detaching these children too rapidly from their surroundings, from their parents' essential preoccupations, and to avoid leading them, under the influence of a too

abstract education, into a stupid scorn for all that has to do with the soil.

Next, the nationalists want all education to be done in Arabic, in classical Arabic naturally, which is their religious language and the only one giving unity to the Arabic world. That is a very large question, and was debated at length in July-August, 1946, when a Commission met at Rabat to study educational problems. The Moroccan members of this Commission wanted to establish Morocco's educational charter, and from the outset set the discussion on the basis of principles. They were quite aware of the obstacles in the way of a practical application of their wishes, and had themselves foreseen the need for transitional arrangements.

For my part, I gave my spontaneous and sincere approval to the following principle : Morocco's teaching language is Arabic and, secondarily, French. But facts oblige us to make certain reservations as regards the date of applying this principle ; they oblige our resorting, even more than the majority of the Commission's Moroccan members had foreseen, to transitional arrangements. At present, there is not in Morocco a sufficient number of young Moroccans capable of giving in Arabic, and in a modern way, even an elementary instruction. Indeed, we must not forget that the teaching language must needs be classical Arabic, and this is not the children's mother tongue. Besides, it is scarcely forty years since the country began to be modernized. And young educated Moroccans still find in commerce and industry situations more lucrative and more to their taste than the magnificent but humble calling of a school-teacher. The day will come, I am sure, when gifted, educated young Moroccans will turn towards educational careers and will be able to teach in Arabic what they learned in French. At that moment the application of the principle laid down can be re-examined. *But at the present moment*, if Arabic alone were used in teaching in the primary schools, the country's evolution would be retarded fifty years or more, or at any rate the Moroccans' participation in that evolution. In 1949, 493 new classes were opened for little Muslims, 455 teachers were recruited, of whom 392 were French and only 63 Moroccans. Let me add that, merit and diplomas being equal, the Moroccans have absolute priority. And it is proper to add that but few of the Moroccans recruited would be capable of effectively teaching, in Arabic, without help and uncontrolled, arithmetic and object lessons. It was thus necessary, and remains so, for the Franco-Muslim schools to ensure, for some years yet, the teaching of Arabic and the Koran and, with the help of the French language, basic techniques.

However, various measures have been taken to give the fullest possible satisfaction to the desires thus expressed.

In the first place, a great effort has been made to ensure as well as possible the teaching of Arabic : Rabat Collège's department for *muderrres* students has been enlarged, and a similar section has been created at Marrakesh's Sidi Mohammed College. All teachers' training-schools henceforth to be created will include a section for *muderrres* students. One was opened at Ujda on January 1, 1951. It now has seven *muderrres* students and will receive 15 in October. Young lettered Moroccans had been charged with inspecting Arabic instruction ; their administrative situation has been normalized and consolidated. Programmes had been published in 1945 ; instructions were drawn up, published, and distributed. A whole body of administrative measures regulated conditions of admission, normalization, and advancement of *muderrres*. The entrance examinations were made more difficult, as the number of graduates increased.

Thanks to all these measures, remarkable progress has been realized in the teaching of the Arabic language. But it would be unjust not to emphasize here the capital part played by eminent Moroccans, aided by and in agreement with us, among others His Excellence Si Abdeslam El Fassi, delegate of the Grand Vizier charged with educational matters from 1947 to 1951, and the inspectors of Arabic teaching.

It was agreed that the history of Morocco would first be taught in Arabic by Moroccan teachers. Only from the fourth grade on is history taught in French, and dealing with the principle events in the history both of Morocco and of France. The following excerpts from the instructions recently published define the spirit in which such teaching is to be done.

" French history is thus not so much taught for its own sake as to enable the pupils to be initiated, through a summary study of it, to the evolution of a civilization different from their own and thereby better to know their own civilization, realize the human value and points of contact between these two civilizations, the long efforts necessary for their constitution, and those still necessary if they are to continue and flourish in fraternal collaboration."

I believe that in so doing I have done all that is possible under present circumstances towards reconciling what is reasonable in the Moroccan nationalist faith and the human ideal which I tried to define at the beginning of this paper.

But there was another aspect of the problem. The young Moroccans, at the same time as they learned better than ever before their own language and religion, had to be initiated into what is the essential basis of western civilization, namely, its humanism. That is the reason why great attention was given to education in the Muslim high schools. Morocco's young

French boys, while receiving the same general education as their comrades in France (which is the strength and virtue of France's secondary education), had to be brought to an accurate awareness of the contemporary and complex reality, the language, the monuments, the past of the country in which they live. Possibilities of contact and, if possible, of friendship between young Frenchmen and young Moroccans coming out of our schools had to be created. That is why the programmes in European secondary educational institutions (which, I repeat, receives an ever growing number of Moroccans) were modified, and adapted to Moroccan realities. That is why two "pedagogical weeks," one in 1947 devoted more especially to new methods in education, the other, in 1950, to problems concerning the adaptation of teaching to different milieux, drew the attention of Morocco's whole teaching profession to this essential aspect of their mission. That is why the initiative was taken to admit Moroccan dialectical Arabic as a second language for the baccalaureate, and the teaching of Arabic in French schools was reorganized and extended. That is why, beginning in 1946, French manners were taught in the Muslim schools and Muslim manners in the French schools.

There is no need to extend this enumeration further. This adaptation of teaching to Morocco, the Moroccan character of this country's education—though not at the cost of sacrificing its general and human character, to be sure—underlie our preoccupations. This whole effort towards fusing the *intelligentia* must continue and culminate in the higher education that is in process of creation in Morocco. Obviously, higher education in this country must not mean simply preparing a few hundred or a few thousand Moroccan and French students for the diplomas with which university professors sanction the acquisition of knowledge, or even a working intellectual method. Its *rôle* must be at once wider and more useful. In close association with scientific research, it must prepare the youth of the country for a function that is not only directive but also creative; for the form that the Morocco of tomorrow will take depends on this *élite*.

How is this *élite* to be formed? Where is it going to find the keywords of its activity? The true *rôle* of Moroccan higher education is to help it to find them through the study of Moroccan history, geography, linguistics, civilization, and dialectology, and of her present-day human problems.

The only effective arm in this domain is the objective truth of scientific knowledge, which will allow this country to come to an exact awareness of itself. Such an awareness of self presupposes a clear perception of what separates as well as what unites East and West. It presumes, too, the realization that to-day, no nation can any longer live alone; those

most proud of their antiquity, even the most powerful among the nations of the world, now resign themselves to being integrated into economic federations able to assure them what they lack. And Morocco, if she wants to live and feed her growing population, must find a way to use the water of her rivers, to prospect and develop her mining resources, to improve her agriculture.

Moroccan higher education must, then, follow three general principles: adaptation to the country's intellectual and moral needs; the ever-growing production of new wealth, indispensable to any achievement in this poor country; and continual experiment. Indeed, we must not build *a priori*, but create, as Lyautey put it, "a moving organism."

At present there are in Morocco more than 1,500 students receiving a modern higher education. Many of these prepare for the examinations created by the Institute for Advanced Moroccan Studies, which sanctions studies in Arabic or other studies adapted to the country. But nearly six hundred of them prepare, with the help of courses given at Rabat and at Casablanca, for a "licence" in law, which they can follow up with the "brevet" of Moroccan juridical studies. More than one hundred and fifty, of whom only one hundred are French, prepare for the first "certificats" of the "licence" in sciences. And let me add that it is in this direction that I have brought my efforts especially to bear.

In 1945, this preparation was but precariously assured, and in provisional installations. Large, bright, well-designed quarters are under construction on the Aguedal hill, reserved for the Public Education Department, and which will later on house the faculty of sciences.

A few years hence, I hope we can train in Morocco natural science teachers (they can be better trained here than elsewhere for the country's needs), physics and mathematics teachers (they can be trained here just as well as elsewhere). I hope at the same time that we can prepare talented young people to enter specialized institutions in France. That is under way. As regards arts and letters, the problem is more delicate. At present, only the "propédeutique" certificate, which gives the right to enter a faculty in France, is given. This preparation is done in specialized classes in the high schools in Casablanca and in Rabat.

The majority of students are thus led to do their advanced studies, or at any rate to finish them, in French universities. Thus it is that more than 1,500 students from Morocco are in France; half of these being in Paris. More than two hundred of these students are Muslim Moroccans. This gives rise to considerable problems. That is why in 1945 I created a special university social service concerned with these students. Construction will soon begin on a Moroccan House in Paris's "Cité Universitaire."

Here I should end this already over-long account, did I not desire greatly to draw attention to two particularly important aspects of the educational effort that is today being carried on in Morocco.

In this country which is becoming industrialized, where international commerce is developing, where problems concerning skilled labour and technical and commercial specialists are acute, and where at the same time the best elements of Moroccan and French youth show a tendency to prepare themselves only for administrative careers or the liberal professions, it was necessary, perhaps above all necessary, to orientate young minds towards studies just as formative, but practical in character, and to create technical schools : industrial, commercial, agricultural. That is why a technical education service was created on October 1, 1945. A considerable result has been attained. Less than four thousand pupils, French and Moroccan (Muslim or Jewish), benefited in 1945 from technical education of the first or second degree level. There were more than twelve thousand on November 10, 1951. Huge workshops are being built at this very moment, more particularly at Taza, at Meknès, and at Agadir. This effort and its orientation had the entire approval of an eminent technician, Monsieur Morice, State Secretary for Technical Education in France, after the visit he so kindly paid us in 1949. One of the most fortunate results of this effort is that the number of candidates for entrance into second-degree technical schools is now greater than in the case of classical and modern secondary schools, that the general level of the pupils in the Muslim trades schools is noticeably higher each year, and that, within three or four years at most, some of these schools can become veritable technical high schools.

I will close this at once lengthy and yet too summary account by what is for me most important, most engaging, and most moving task—the education of Moroccan girls.

I need hardly say that it was especially in this domain that a great work of persuasion had to be done. In the beginning, it was never without hesitation, nor without reserve that Moroccan parents entrusted to us the education of their daughters. Even today, the “traditional” classes do not look with great favour upon the transformations wrought by our presence in the girls’ lives, in family life.

In 1945 we had only ten thousand pupils in our schools for Muslim girls ; there they learned to read and write and count—in Arabic and in French, of course. There they learned, above all, according to their families’ wishes, the traditional Moroccan arts : tapestry, embroidery. We now have more than twenty-eight thousand. And, little by little, the instruction given them has been modernized. General intellectual education has been spread more widely, and the number of girls passing

the certificate of primary studies has increased from fifteen in 1945 to 127 in 1950. At the same time, the teaching of traditional arts has given way to a certain extent to modern instruction in sewing, knitting, food hygiene, and child care. And, as the general atmosphere in which these girls live changes, we witness veritable metamorphoses.

In 1946, I opened, in very agreeable but restricted quarters—for it was but an experiment, and a very uncertain one—the first high school for Muslim girls, with boarding accommodation for some twenty or so. I saw the girls upon their arrival there; they were charming, but frozen stiff! They knew neither how to laugh, nor sing, nor play. I saw them again a few weeks ago. It was truly a transformation. These girls have remained quite shy, but in the courtyard they could be heard singing. They knew how to run; they knew how to play, and, when I spoke to them, they looked me in the face, without fright and without shame, just as little French girls would have done.

The experiment having turned out well, the number of pupils, even those who are boarders, has quadrupled; the school, having become too small, has had to transport part of its quarters across the street to a site that, fortunately, happened to be vacant.

I have had occasion to call the attention of young Moroccan students to this transformation taking place in the girls. They listened eagerly, and I could tell from their look, tense and concentrated, how much they were struck by this evolution. They were at once delighted, captivated, perhaps a bit terrified, as when one begins to yield to a river current, instead of rowing or swimming against it. Some of them—they told me so—had thought about mixed marriages, that is to say, with French girls. The prospect of being united to girls of their own race, educated like themselves, heirs like themselves to the best traditions of their religion and country, but capable of understanding them, of bringing up their children in a modern way, must, it seems to me, give them an assurance, a stability, a confidence in the future, which, at present, they lack, and which divides them against themselves.

Indeed, it is my belief that a great many present-day difficulties in Morocco arise out of the fact that many families are composed of a highly educated father, and a mother who knows nothing but the traditions. In order to judge many attitudes, it is necessary to understand these problems, and to realize the daily difficulties that so sudden and—necessarily, in some respects—so one-sided an evolution can create in a family, in the very souls of individual beings. And that itself warrants hope for a better future, in which present difficulties will lessen and finally disappear.

To sum up: a considerable educational effort is being made in Morocco: the figures are there to testify to it.

Japanese Politics

By E. H. RAWLINGS

DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS political developments in Japan have revealed several characteristics peculiar to an occupied country. The Allied control, although imposing certain restrictions, have so far carried out a liberal and generous occupation policy. Under such a policy Japan has been given a new Constitution which grants sovereignty to the people, as opposed to the Emperor, and includes the setting up of a new machinery of democratic institutions. Hence, there are signs that the political consciousness of the people are steadily awakening ; but the old traditions and practices of the feudal days still seriously interfere with the development of politics on the Western democratic system.

Japanese politics have been unstable since the end of the war. The present Cabinet, headed by Shigeru Yoshida, is the seventh since the country's surrender and the third presided over by him. Although the present Yoshida Ministry has an overwhelming majority in the Lower House of the National Diet, a lack of stability has recently been confirmed by various expressions of public sentiment.

There are, of course, several fundamental factors behind the causes of this instability. Since Japan is still under Allied occupation her political and economic autonomy are limited ; this, in itself, helps to create a political dual. There has also prevailed a general confusion and instability in the national economy and society since hostilities ceased. These, coupled with the weakness of modern politics in Japan, are just a few of the drawbacks hampering political development.

In the past politics have been carried on more on the basis of personal dealings or bargaining. In a sense the four main political parties—Liberals, People's Democratic, Socialist and Communists have their respective platforms and programmes, but their political convictions are uncertain, except in the case of the Communists. Even in some respects the Communist Party is more or less run on a personal basis and not in accordance with clear-cut principles.

The instability of Japanese politics is demonstrated by the fact that the number of national parties have been reduced from thirteen in April 1946 to seven today, consisting of the Liberals, the People's Democrats, the People's Co-operatives, the Socialists, the Communists, the Labour-Farmers and the Reformed Socialists. In the general elections of April 1946 and 1947, the Liberals, Democrats and Socialists were fairly closely matched, but in the last election held in January 1949 there was an overwhelming majority towards the Right—the Liberals with an unexpected

serious gain by the Communists. These gains were made at the expense of the Socialists, Democrats and the People's Co-operatives. This gave the Liberals a clear majority in the Lower House, whereas the two preceding elections failed to give any one party a working majority.

As the country is under foreign occupation these results do not represent a true political picture of the period concerned. Furthermore, political parties in Japan can be broadly grouped into two, the right-wing conservatives consisting of the Liberals and the People's Democratic Parties, presenting the capitalistic system, and the left-wing progressives containing the Socialists, Labour-Farmers, Communists and other factions which present socialism.

The conservatives are strong in the local rural communities, where family ties still hold and the master-servant relationship exists and where little material damage was sustained in the last war. The rise in the price of farm produce during the war and for some years after, gained conservative support from the farmers. The Socialists and other progressive parties has the support of the city workers whose organized unions have seven million members.

Another important feature of Japan's political development since the war is that Japanese voters are gradually learning to support parties with well-defined policies rather than individuals without principles. This is obvious by the fact that only twelve independents are now in the Lower House as against thirty-eight in 1946. These minor factions are more or less offshoots of the Socialist Party.

The decline of the middle groups helped to bring about a steady advance of the right and left wings. The middle groups lost their popularity partly because of the administrative blunders caused by the Katayama-Ashida and Ashida-Katayama Coalition Cabinets that preceded the Yoshida Cabinet. The two Ministries headed by the Socialist Tetu Katayama and the Democrat Hitoshi Ashida, were politically weak and their politics vague. On the other hand, Shigeru Yoshida has an unusual strong personality, who appealed to the voters after the feeble Katayama and Ashida Ministries. It can be reasonably assumed that the voters wanted a strong political Cabinet with a definite policy when the two extreme parties received the largest number of votes cast in the January 1949 election.

By the Liberals obtaining 264 seats in the Lower House, Premier Yoshida was in a position to form a single-party Cabinet, but because of his sentiments about the House of Councillors, which was established in April 1947 after the dissolution of the old House of Representatives, where his party did not hold a supporting majority, he formed a coalition with the Democrats. This resulted in a split in the Democratic Party

forming two groups, the Coalition and the Opposition, proving that many Japanese politicians are still influenced by traditional personal ties rather than by party convictions.

As the third Yoshida Cabinet had an overwhelming majority of support in the House of Councillors as a result of freely expressed votes, it was in a position to carry out its promises. These consisted of the gradual removal of Government controls, with a view to the re-establishment of private enterprise ; the rationalization of industry ; reduced taxation ; and the encouragement of foreign capital.

But the various restrictions imposed by the occupation prevented these proposals being carried out, so the Yoshida Cabinet was compelled through no fault of its own to continue austerity measures. Although this was an unpopular course, it contributed immensely to the rapid recovery of Japan's economy. This resulted in a balanced Budget, the ending of the loose financial programme, the abolishment of subsidies to various industries, and the rationalization of industries set in train.

As the Yoshida Cabinet was carrying out new policies and measures directed or suggested by the Occupation authorities, there was a general cry towards the end of 1949 and early 1950 among the politicians and certain sections of the public for a general reorganization of the political front, and for immediate political autonomy.

Thus disturbances arose within the Japanese political sphere early in 1950. The first, which was most unexpected, rose in the left-wing groups, the Japan Communist Party and the Japan Socialist Party. In January, considerable consternation was created in the Communist Party because the Cominform organ published certain criticisms of the so-called Nosaka theory and tactics. These caused certain confusion within the ranks of Party, which showed that it was still affected by exterior influences.

Sanzo Nosaka the most tactful and intelligent member of the Japan Communist Party, declared at the Party's Central Committee meeting in 1949 that " the establishment of a people's (revolutionary) government was possible even under the occupation regime." This statement was severely criticized by the Cominform in the usual Communist ideological jargon, which really meant: " You should cast overboard all compromising camouflage policies, and adopt openly a pro-Soviet and anti-American formula in carrying out the revolution."

This forced the Japan Communist Party to face a vital issue : and after a two week meeting in camera, the Party executives confirmed the Cominform's criticism and accepted its views. This has, however, left differences of views among the members, and combined with personal feuds continue to shake the Party even with the boasted " iron discipline " enforced within its ranks.

The Communist Party received yet another blow when, on June 6, General MacArthur excluded from public service the entire General Executive Committee of the Japan Communist Party, not excluding Tokuda and Nosaka. Although the Party itself remained legal and its activities continued, its seven members of the Central Executive Committee, who were members of the Diet, were not allowed to engage in any political activities. On the outbreak of the Korean war action against the Communists were naturally intensified, their papers were suspended or banned, and workers suspected of Communist leanings were often dismissed, and some even arrested. Tokuda, Nosaka and seven other members of the Central Executive Committee disappeared, and rumours had it that they were in Korea or Russia.

The split in the Socialist Party followed another course, and illustrates the traditional pattern in Japanese politics. The right-wing of the party was inclined to follow the principle of the British Labour Party, while the left-wing has always stood for the continental class-party model. This difference of opinion caused the two factions to quarrel and break away: but they united again in April with the idea of facing the June election for the House of Councillors.

The new alignment in the conservative group was finally achieved in February 1950 with the merger of the Democratic Party's Coalition group with the Liberals, when the name "Democratic Liberal Party" was changed to "Liberal Party." Moreover, last April the remaining faction of the Democratic Party united with the People's Co-operative Party to form the People's Democratic Party. The true aim of this newly organized party is to increase the number of seats in the House of Representatives and eventually to capture political power, but it has a programme containing certain "progressive" features.

Although personal ties and feuds are the basis of these re-alignments in the conservative and centre parties, with the objective to collect more seats in the Diet chamber without consulting voters and without regard to political principles announced at the time of the election, these changes have simplified the political line-up, promoting a step towards a general political re-alignment.

Since the end of 1949, Japanese politicians have for the first time become seriously conscious of the limitations they have under Allied Occupation, and the need for political autonomy. Thus, after five years of occupation, Japanese political parties patiently await the signing of the peace treaty as early as possible so that their need for greater autonomy in the political field can be realized without being subjected to any limitation.

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Pakistan To-day*

By the Hon. KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

I AM GRATEFUL to the organizers of this meeting for giving me this opportunity of addressing the members of the East India Association and the Pakistan Society jointly and of meeting some of my old friends. My mind inevitably goes back to a similar occasion last year when some of you present to-day heard my great predecessor, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, speak on the achievements and problems of Pakistan. His sudden death in October 1951 deprived the country, at a critical juncture, of one of her ablest leaders. In his untimely demise, the world has lost one of its outstanding statesmen, and one of the staunchest champions of democracy.

I must first express my pleasure at finding the two societies—the East India Association, which was founded 86 years ago, and The Pakistan Society, which was founded only last year—working side by side in such harmony and cordial relationship. The aims and objects of the two bodies are very similar and nothing but good for all concerned can emerge from these aims and objects. For many years the East India Association has played a notable role in promoting friendly contact between the peoples of India, Pakistan and Burma and of Britain, through the medium of lectures and social and other gatherings. Among vast numbers of even very well-informed people throughout the Commonwealth there is insufficient knowledge of the history, culture, economy, commerce, art and national institutions of Pakistan. The formation of the Pakistan Society, with the object of bringing this knowledge to those who are interested and of fostering friendship and mutual understanding between Pakistan, the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth, has thus filled a great need. It is, therefore, a matter for satisfaction that the Pakistan Society has made rapid progress since last year. I am given to understand that the number of members is increasing day by day, and the new office at 70 Victoria Street, opened early in November, is really worthy of this young and vigorous Society.

SUFFERING AND SURVIVING

I would like briefly to draw your attention to some of the principal features of the Pakistani landscape, which to my mind, illustrate aptly the mettle of its people. You will notice that in the short span of little

* Address delivered to a joint meeting with the Pakistan Society at the Royal Society of Arts on 10th December, 1952, with H.E. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, High Commissioner for Pakistan, in the Chair.

more than five years of its existence, Pakistan has suffered and survived three major calamities. The first of these came soon after the birth of the country. Its leaders had hardly had time to set up even the rudiments of an effective administration, when some seven million Muslim refugees poured into the country from India within a matter of a few months. That process has since then continued, although the size of the flow has varied from time to time, and the number of Indian Muslim refugees that this country has so far had to absorb stands now in the neighbourhood of nine million. The second calamity came, after barely a year of Pakistan's emergence, in the death of its founder and supreme leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. At a time when the country was in desperate need of his titanic leadership and superb guidance, his passing away was a grievous blow. This was, however, followed last year by another disaster in the death of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. That a country so young was able successfully to withstand the shock of these three catastrophes gives you some measure of the character of its people and of its inherent strength and stability.

To-day, five years after its emergence as an independent country and despite its economic difficulties, Pakistan remains one of the stablest democracies in Asia. In March this year the country closed its fifth successful financial year with a balanced budget. Until then, despite the heavy strain to which its economy had been subjected by the necessity of rehabilitating millions of almost destitute human beings who had come in as refugees from India and by the progressive diminution and eventual rupture of trade with India when she devalued her currency and Pakistan did not, Pakistan's economic position had remained strong. Latterly, however, we have been faced with an unfavourable economic situation. There has been a world-wide slump in the demand for raw materials which constitute the bulk of Pakistan's exports. On top of that a difficult food situation has arisen owing to serious crop failures caused by drought and by the diversion by India of water supplies from the rivers that feed West Pakistan's canals. I am, however, confident that we shall surmount these difficulties as indeed we have surmounted similar difficulties in the past, against what, at that time were almost overwhelming odds.

ADHERENCE TO ISLAMIC TEACHING

So much for our domestic affairs. You might ask, where does Pakistan stand in the international field. What messages has she for a world torn by conflicting ideologies? What contribution can Pakistan make to the maintenance of world peace?

Let me first state the broad principles of policy which guide the ordering of our domestic affairs and determine our international relations. We

believe in democracy, in the maximum possible freedom for the individual, in absolute equality between man and man before law, in tolerance and in social justice as enunciated by Islam. Islam, which is the faith we profess, does not recognize the barriers of race, colour or creed or the caste system. Its power to transcend divisions of race and colour is universally admitted. We do not believe in totalitarianism or in any compulsion in the matters of religion or culture. We do not believe in a capitalist system of society. Nor do we believe in the materialistic doctrines of communism. We believe instead, in the Islamic concept of social justice which, while it encourages private enterprise and recognizes the right of private property, deprecates large accumulations of unearned incomes and enjoins the levelling down of marked inequalities of wealth. Above all, we believe in peace. Indeed the very word "Islam" means peace. To us, these principles constitute not a political testament only; they are articles of our faith. They will be enshrined in our Constitution. Collectively these principles constitute what we call the Islamic way of life. It is this way of life that our country is resolved to follow.

It is these principles which we propose to project into our relations with other countries. In the international field, we shall continue to strive for peace, for the obliteration of the artificial distinctions of race and colour that to-day divide mankind, for securing self government, as their natural democratic right, for the peoples still under foreign domination, and for the progressive removal of the potential threats to peace and political stability in Asia by helping, so far as it lies in our power, to raise the standards of living in all under-developed countries. How do we propose to set about this task?

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE

We must remember that not only is Pakistan by virtue of its man-power the third largest country in Asia, but that its geographical location invests it with special strategic significance. As you are aware, West Pakistan rubs shoulders with the Middle East and borders on that region surrounding the Persian Gulf where perhaps the greatest oil reserves of the world are located. On the other hand, East Pakistan abuts upon Burma, and has a vital interest in the problems affecting the countries in South East Asia. As such Pakistan occupies a pivotal position in the political geography of Asia. This simple geographical fact imposes upon Pakistan special responsibilities in the international sphere and has a necessary bearing on its foreign relations. By virtue of its location, Pakistan constitutes a buffer to protect the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent against any incursion through the traditional routes that lie along the mountain passes in the

north west. This means that, not only in its own interest but in the interest also of peace on the sub-continent, Pakistan must be militarily and politically strong. That indeed is the principal objective of our national policy.

On the other hand, geographical contiguity as well as identity of economic interests and our cultural affinities tend naturally to draw us closer to the Middle East; and the Muslim world in general. We seek closer relations with Muslim countries, not indeed with the object of establishing a rival power bloc, but in the hope that we might thereby help to strengthen the forces of democracy and peace which animate the Muslim world.

There is nothing extraordinary about this trend in our foreign relations. The same desire to collaborate in pursuit of common interests inspires and holds the members of the Commonwealth together. Similarly, you see in the emergence of the Council of Europe and its constituent bodies, increasing evidence of the same tendency among the countries of Western Europe. Likewise, we believe that we can serve the cause of international peace better as a part of the Muslim world rather than in isolation from countries with which we are culturally and economically, indissolubly linked.

But we are by no means limiting our efforts at friendly collaboration in the international field to Muslim countries only. In the furtherance of our objectives in the international sphere we seek closer relations with all friendly powers; both inside and outside the Commonwealth.

INDO-PAKISTAN PEACE VITAL

It is, however, our relations with India that must, ultimately, determine in large measure the future of peace and stability in Asia. Here, I must confess to a feeling of disappointment. As you are aware our relations with India have been most unhappy and are being increasingly embittered by the continuance of the dispute over Kashmir. In Kashmir in fact you have the key to Indo-Pakistan relations. So long as the Kashmir dispute is not satisfactorily resolved, there can be no friendship between India and Pakistan, far less any real co-operation in the promotion of their common interests.

I consider the establishment of friendly relations between Pakistan and India vital to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia. We desire friendship with India. Indeed, it should be obvious to everyone connected with the shaping of policy in India and Pakistan that friendship between these two countries is vital to their progress; it is vital to their very existence as free states. And yet the dispute over Kashmir continues

to baulk us, continues progressively to embitter Indo-Pakistan relations and to endanger the prospects of peace in Asia. Instead of co-operating in the defence of their freedom and the promotion of their common interests, instead of devoting their resources increasingly to raising the present deplorable standards of living of the masses in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, we see to-day the sorry, if not ironical, spectacle of India and Pakistan diverting the bulk of their pitifully meagre resources—meagre in comparison to their vast development needs—to arming themselves against each other.

For my part, I see no hope whatever of Indo-Pakistan relations taking a sane turn and of the two countries collaborating in meeting the grave problems that they, in common with other Asiatic countries, to-day face, so long as the Kashmir dispute continues to divide them into mutually hostile camps. On the other hand, I greatly fear, if this dispute is not resolved soon, a serious threat to world peace might develop in what is geographically a most sensitive and exposed spot in Asia. I have no doubt that the United Nations is convinced of the urgency of solving this dispute. It remains for it now to act in accordance with its convictions. In the interests of world peace, the solution of this dispute can brook no further delay.

SIMPLE ISSUES IN THE DISPUTE

The Kashmir dispute has now been reduced to issues so simple that it is almost unbelievable that their solution should present any serious difficulty, provided there is a will to resolve them. The Security Council, Pakistan and India, are all agreed that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should themselves decide, by means of a plebiscite the question whether they wish to accede to Pakistan or India. They are also agreed that this plebiscite must be fair and free from all outside pressure. This implies that the Indian and Pakistani armed forces now stationed in Kashmir on either side of the "cease fire" line should, if they are not entirely withdrawn, be so reduced and deployed during the plebiscite period as to enable the people of the State to exercise their vote free from coercion or intimidation. It should not be difficult for the Security Council to devise an arrangement that would ensure, as it must, the freedom of the plebiscite and to see that both India and Pakistan accept it. So far as Pakistan is concerned, it has accepted every proposal put forward in this behalf by any impartial agency. We have accepted every resolution or proposal relating to this issue hitherto put forward by the United Nations, by its Commission and by its representatives. We accepted, too, every proposal for resolving the deadlock on this issue advanced by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers when they met in London early in 1951.

On the other hand, India has rejected every such proposal, the latest instance being her recent rejection of the Anglo-United States resolution before the Security Council which merely embodied Dr. Graham's recommendations. This has created a most serious situation and I trust that the Security Council will deal with it resolutely. It is essential that this dispute is resolved peacefully, because the alternative would spell disaster for both countries.

THE ONE THING NEEDFUL

It must be remembered that the Kashmir dispute is not a dispute regarding a mere strip of territory. It is the inalienable right to self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir that is at stake. Are they to be denied the exercise of that right by the use of force? The Security Council, pledged by its very constitution to secure that right for all peoples of the world, could not possibly acquiesce in such a situation.

Once the Kashmir dispute is settled, I am certain that all other Indo-Pakistan disputes, serious and seemingly insoluble as they are at present, will be easily resolved. Indo-Pakistan relations will then be placed on a friendly and, I might add, natural footing, for, situated as they are, these two countries must co-operate with each other in the interest of their own security and the promotion of Asiatic stability or perish. So long as they do not so co-operate, so long as they remain estranged and mutually hostile, so long they will fail to play their full part either in the preservation and furtherance of their own freedom and progress or in the maintenance of world peace.

I pray in the interests of world peace and in the name of economically backward millions of Asia that that day dawn early when the Kashmir dispute, will have been settled, when all other Indo-Pakistan differences will have been resolved, so that India and Pakistan are able to devote their resources principally to raising the standards of living of the impoverished masses in these two countries. Only thus can the cause of democracy be served and stability in Asia assured. Only then will India and Pakistan be able effectively to co-operate with other peace-loving countries in the preservation of world peace.

STATESMAN, SCHOLAR, SPORTSMAN

In introducing the Prime Minister, the Chairman, H.E., Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI said: The task which I have to perform to-day, is happily not a difficult one. Indeed, I cannot imagine a subject more pleasing to a speaker than Khwaja Nazimuddin. For many of you who, during the

last five years, have served or had close associations with Pakistan, our distinguished guest really needs no introduction. You all know him and what he has done for his country well enough. Nevertheless, I feel qualified to be your spokesman for I can probably claim longer acquaintance with him than almost any one else now present. One of the liveliest recollections of my early days in England is of the time in 1919 when I first met Khwaja Nazimuddin. The bright and friendly eye and the almost boyish candour of his expression, which he has retained through the years and which have endeared him to so many people in distant lands, led me to assume that he was a Freshman and to ask him in a rather patronizing way whether he had just come up to Cambridge. "Well, yes" said he, smiling at his junior, "I *have* just come up—to receive my M.A."

At Cambridge he was both a scholar and a sportsman. His officers to-day, Pakistani and British, like to recall his great interest in games. It is well known that he played a fine game of lawn tennis. In those days his extra-mural interests also included horse racing. We cannot but suspect that it was with quite a heavy heart that, years later, he decided that, for the good of East Bengal, the racecourse at Dacca must be closed down. Well, Cambridge days are now long past, both for him and for me, but I am sure that all here were delighted to know that Khwaja Nazimuddin became an honorary Fellow of his old College, Trinity Hall, on December 8th. This is a fit recognition of his services to culture and to civilization.

This true sportsman has continued to recognize the value to a healthy national economy of outdoor games and pastimes. When he became the head of the State one of the first things he did was to extend his patronage to hockey and football. Those who have been close to him in Karachi know his keenness for shooting—for which, alas, he now can have so little time—and fishing has always been one of his favourite hobbies. A man of many parts and wide interests he has always combined a deep devotion to his religion with broad human sympathies.

At the beginning of my own political life I looked upon Khwaja Nazimuddin as a conservative of the deepest hue, but when I came into closer contact with him it did not take me long to realize that he was actually as go-ahead as any of us. When a member of the Quaid-i-Azam's working committee his mature experience of administration and his spotless integrity made him a tower of strength, commanding confidence among men of all shades of opinion. Many will remember with pride his Agricultural Debtors Act which brought so much relief to the poor cultivators of Bengal, the majority of whom are Muslims.

Here is a man who has never spared himself. At the birth of Pakistan he was elected by an overwhelming majority to be the leader of East Pakistan, but Fate was not to permit him for long to serve only his own province. During the next three years he was called by duty—that “stern daughter of the voice of God”—no less than twice to fill the places left vacant when, by successive disasters, tragic for Pakistan and the world, death, cruel and sudden, took from us first the Quaid-i-Azam and then Liaquat Ali Khan. A statesman of less courage and piety might have failed his country in two crises such as these, but I think that it is for his courage and piety that Nazimuddin will live among the patriots of history. To replace the Quaid-i-Azam was impossible, as his successor himself fully recognized, but Khwaja Nazimuddin filled the appointment of Governor-General of Pakistan with such dignity, wisdom, courtesy and natural humour as to set him high in the respect and affection of all those many thousands with whom he came in contact as the head of the State.

When a crime which shocked the world made it necessary for him to step down from the eminent appointment which he held, leaving so much that many of us might envy, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his personal interests and faced boldly all the worries, risks and obvious hardships of the life of a Prime Minister at a time which seemed likely to be full of trouble. How well he has been guiding Pakistan through that time of trouble we all know.

I now present to you a lover of peace and a very gallant gentleman.

LORD HAILEY'S TRIBUTE

The Rt. Hon. Lord HAILEY informed the audience that it had been arranged that on this occasion the address should not be followed by the usual discussion, as it was desired to provide as much time as possible for the Hon. Khwaja Nazimuddin to talk with some of his old friends after the meeting. The audience would, Lord Hailey continued, be grateful to the Prime Minister for finding time, in spite of the pressure of the Commonwealth Minister's Conference, to give them so informative an account of the position of affairs in Pakistan. The Prime Minister had referred with pleasure to the fact that the members of the two Societies, the East India Association and the Pakistan Society, had united in asking him to address them. Lord Hailey assured him that the fact that they could combine in this invitation gave equal pleasure to the two Societies. There was no material difference in their attitude towards the partition of the old India which they used to know. They would not themselves attempt to judge of the circumstances which had caused one of two great

communities of India to insist, and the other finally to concede, that India could most suitably gain her political independence not as one but as two separate constitutional entities. They would leave to history the judgment on the point, and in the meanwhile they would continue to study, as dispassionately as possible, the practical working of this development. They might differ in their assessment of the results as achieved by one territory or the other; but they are firmly united in a common hope that the final issue will bring prosperity and contentment to the peoples among whom so many of them had lived, and in whose interest they felt that they had spent the best of their working lives.

The Hon. Prime Minister had spoken with great conviction of the policy and performances of Pakistan. It was natural that he should thus express his faith in the justice of the attitude of Pakistan in regard to Kashmir or similar differences with India. But he had expressed himself with a moderation and a reasonableness which added to the appreciation which the audience would feel for the clarity with which he had put his case. They all alike were greatly indebted to him.

Impressions of a Tour of Self-Governing Nations of South East Asia

By Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS, CIE *

A JOINT MEETING of the Association with the Over-Seas League was held on Tuesday, January 13, 1953, at Over-Seas House, S.W.1. Lieut.-General Sir THOMAS HUTTON presided. He explained that Mr. John G. Foster, QC, MP, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office, much to his regret was prevented from presiding on account of the conference on Federation in Central Africa.

Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS said: When I have spoken here during the past four or five years I have invariably described India and Pakistan as the last remaining eastern bulwarks against that tide of Communism and chaos which seems to be rising slowly but inexorably across South East Asia. I have tried to draw a black line demarcating that area of

* Owing to absence in India Sir Percival Griffiths was prevented from revising the text of his address.

tranquility, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, from the chaos and disorder to be found north and east of that black line.

I propose to speak about Indonesia in some detail and then turn to the other side of the black line and talk in not quite such detail about Pakistan, Ceylon and India. It seems to me that there are two or three countries of South East Asia which may hold the key to the future in that part of the world. Of these I believe the most frightening and worrying is Indonesia.

INDONESIAN DANGERS

I left Java feeling thoroughly depressed, not only about what I saw happening there, but also because I could find no logical ground for expecting any early improvement. I saw a combination of three or four separate sets of dangerous circumstances, law and order broken down in large areas; political factions; an economy weakened by financial irresponsibility on the part of the three Cabinets preceding the present Cabinet. All these signs together, and added to them an understandable economic nationalism, seemed to me to amount to something sinister and dangerous.

There is a fanatical body called Dar-ul-Islam whose real aims are not clear but who profess to be actuated mainly by disapproval of the secular Government. It has set up something like a parallel Government, which imposes its own taxes, appoints its own officers, inflicts its own punishments, and from time to time carries out raids on villages. About the time it began to be active the Government had succeeded in cleaning up eastern Java and a large number of bandits who had been operating freely in east Java took the opportunity of moving further west and joined up with this body, where they are exercising a reign of terror in west and central Java.

Let me try and make that a little more concrete by describing what is happening in some of the tea and rubber districts of Java. In the Soekaboemi area in the west security has so completely disappeared that most of the planters cannot live on their estates; they live in the headquarters town and are taken down by convoy once or twice a week to see what is happening. A little further east I found planters certainly on their plantations but for all practical purposes prisoners on them. No person of position or substance, whether European or Indonesian, can venture out after dark for fear of being shot. I found a whole community of planters and their wives marooned in their own plantations, deprived of social life and carrying on an existence in circumstances which most people would regard as intolerable.

Still further east, in a tea and rubber district known as the Patoeha, which I was told was peaceful, while I was there a message came in one day saying that they had to stop rubber tapping because the plantation had been taken possession of by 200 bandits. In that same district between 40,000 and 50,000 rubber trees have been cut down for fuel. This seemed so incredible that I went to see for myself and I found places where 300 or 400 trees had been cut down within a few miles of a police or military post. Law and order for all practical purposes has broken down in very important areas of west and central Java.

POLITICAL FACTIONS AND THE ARMY

• If this were merely a problem of law and order one might hope that in time it would be put right but it goes much deeper than that; there is the disturbing fact that political factions are reflected in the army. The army has broken up into sections and in the last six months or so there has been an attempt on the part of one or the other to group itself with one or other of the political factions. It is newspaper knowledge that the President and the recently retired Defence Minister have for a long time been at loggerheads; not only personally, but over military policy. The Indonesian army consists of 250,000 people of whom 50,000 are trained regulars while the other 200,000 are ex-guerillas. The Defence Minister, who was generally regarded as a sound, strong, practical man, wanted to bring the army to proper proportions, to have a small well-trained, well-equipped defence force. The President was wholly opposed to that policy because he regarded the People's Army as amongst his principal supporters on whom he could rely, so that for a long time these two were pulling different ways. That became known and in each of the mutinies which have taken place it has been a question of the President's men or the Sultan's men deposing the commander-in-chief and putting in a man belonging to their own political faction.

Just at the very time when vigorous and effective armed men are needed more than ever, the army, which was the one binding force in Indonesia, is hopelessly broken into two factions. Let me make it clear that the people causing disorder, carrying out the raids, looting and murders, are not Communists, but the Communists are taking good care with their usual skill and intelligence to exploit the situation created by these violent methods. The Communists are not going in for violence, they are carrying on slow, peaceful and highly intelligent infiltration amongst the labour forces of the great plantations in Java and to a lesser extent in Sumatra. They seem to be given a free hand to carry on propaganda as they like. At some time the security authorities did seem to be trying

to restrain them, but for political reasons perhaps that restraint seems to have been removed and the Communists are doing what they like in the way of intensive propaganda in Java, with special attention to West and Central Java where the violent part of the job is done for them by non-Communists.

FINANCIAL QUANDARIES

On the top of these difficulties there is an embarrassing financial situation, brought about by a Government which under three successive Cabinets refused to look the facts in the face. They had Finance Ministers who supposed that the 1950 boom would last for ever and they went on spending lavishly, using up foreign exchange resources and overspending, having no eye to budgetary stability or needs for the future. It was not that they spent unwisely so much as that they embarked on commitments which they could not meet. They went in for well-meant development plans without counting the cost. When the present Cabinet came into power, they sat themselves down to try to handle the financial situation, to cut down expenditure, to slow up the rate of using up their foreign exchange resources. They found themselves handicapped by these vast commitments which had been entered into by their predecessors. They found themselves in a position where they either had to discontinue long-term schemes and waste the money which had been used in them already, or else spend money they had not got. On the whole, they decided not to do the latter and a resolute effort has been made to bring order out of disorder.

This has meant drastic measures of many kinds, a wholesale restriction of credit and a serious reduction of imports. You do not get an import licence in Indonesia to-day until you pay 40 per cent deposit to start with. That is fairly common in most countries to-day, but there are other devices designed for the express purpose of discouraging imports of other than essential goods. The Government has divided imports into categories: Category A is essential goods; category B is non-essential goods and for an import licence for this an inducement charge has to be paid. For example, if it is desired to import 100 guilders worth of a particular class of goods, you have to pay 200 guilders and the Government gets the profit. Category C is luxury goods; if you want to import 100 guilders worth of goods in that category, you pay 300 guilders.

This, under the circumstances, is a necessary and sensible arrangement; it is a way of dealing with an impossible situation, but however desirable and necessary an arrangement of this kind is, it necessarily means a slowing down of the great plans for the development of Indonesia on

which so much store was being set earlier. The Indonesian Government has had to ask itself which is the more urgent—" Shall we spend money on developing our agricultural resources, trying to become self-supporting in food [because Indonesia is that queer thing, an agricultural country which cannot feed itself] or shall we switch over and try to develop industries with the products of which we can buy the food which we cannot grow ourselves? "

ERRORS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

That particular problem is one which exists in most of the countries of South East Asia to-day. It has not been finally decided, and there is some difference of opinion about it inside the Government, but the view seems to be prevailing that the first job will be to go in for agricultural development and make themselves as nearly self-supporting as they can. What they are doing now is wasteful, it means discontinuing schemes which have been started, and that is unfortunate because it is slowing down development and the attempt to raise the standard of living on which many people were building their best hopes of resisting Communism.

There is no country in the world to-day which if it is to prosper, if it is to survive as a free country, stands more in need of foreign help than Indonesia, but she does not make it easy for other nations to give her that help. When any country attains self-government, economic nationalism is bound to be a real factor and to play a great part, but it may take wise or unwise forms. Some of the experiments which have been conducted in Java in the field of economic nationalism have been extraordinarily unwise. The niggardly way in which permits are granted to persons to go and work in Indonesia has been so. The niggardliness in granting permits to re-enter to those who have left and wish to go back has been still more unwise.

Efforts to divert imports into purely Indonesian hands, understandable enough, have not been practicable. The regulations never had a chance of working and have not worked. They began by drawing up a list of commodities which only Indonesians could handle, but they entirely overlooked the fact that there were no Indonesians who had handled some of these goods before. They assumed, as so many Governments in so many parts of the world have assumed, that trading is a simple business. It is extraordinary how many Governments are apt to think that although industry is difficult to manage any fool can manage trade, anybody can buy anything as long as he has the money in his pocket. It is beginning to be realized in some countries that it does not work quite like that, that it takes a lifetime of experience to buy skilfully, and it was found that

this insistence that certain classes of imports must be handled by Indonesians only was not working at all. About 75 per cent of the Indonesians who have permits are Chinese and the others have gone to British or Dutch houses under arrangements made for them to do the importing on their behalf. It is impossible to suddenly create a fresh class of importer.

I will not dwell more on this theme. The point is that whereas economic nationalism is a right and proper thing—and I very often wish we had more of it—it has to express itself in practical ways; in Indonesia it has expressed itself in impractical ways. Indonesia is a country already harassed by the breakdown of law and order; it is suffering from several years of unwise financial management, and yet the Government is making it as hard as possible for the outside world to help in any form. I left Indonesia therefore feeling that the Government, although it was struggling quite manfully with difficulties handed down to it, still had not faced reality in a big way, still had not recognized that Indonesia was steadily plunging down into the kind of chaos which is no good to anybody but the Communists. All the thoughts which I have had before about the dangerous and chaotic situation east and north of my black line were only too obviously justified as far as Indonesia was concerned. I could not see any real ground for expecting improvement in the near future, of power being taken over by the kind of Indonesian who could exercise it wisely. I could not see any hope of the Government being expanded to take in much of the real talent outside its membership, so that my general feeling about the future of Indonesia is one of gloom.

PAKISTAN'S FOOD SHORTAGE

Pakistan, which I next visited, is happily free from many of the major problems, the major evils, which bedevil Indonesia to-day. Law and order throughout most of Pakistan is remarkably maintained, there is a real degree of security for life and property and of stability in spite of the vast difficulties and the psychological differences between East and West. They are closely knit together, much more closely than was the case two or three years ago. There is Communism in Pakistan; it is made evident both in the conspiracy trial which recently finished, and in other directions in the last few months, but taking a broad general view, Communism is not a major headache in Pakistan. Pakistan is in fact free of most of the major troubles of Indonesia. The troubles from which she is not free are economic ones. Her position is rather like ours; her bothers are not political but economic.

The most surprising factor amongst the causes of Pakistan's present economic difficulties is the shortage of food. When we talked about

Pakistan in the early years after the transfer of power and tried to assess her economic viability, we set on the one side her lack of coal and various other elements of production against the fact that she was self-supporting in food, whereas India would have to go on spending large sums, millions of her foreign exchange on buying food, and Pakistan would be free from that problem. It has not worked out like that. In the past twelve months she has found herself short of food and has had to join in the scramble for cereals and to strain her foreign exchange position by expenditure on that particular account. The factors underlying the present food shortage have not yet been fully analysed. There are many people who think that the physical shortage of food resulting from failures of harvest has only been a minor factor, that a much more important operative cause has been hoarding, speculation, unwillingness of the cultivators to sell, and all those things which in any agricultural country are produced so quickly by even a slight shortage of food.

Any one who had experience of the Bengal famine in 1943 will know that the actual physical shortage of food was not outstanding, but it was enough to generate hoarding and speculation and all the things which make people unwilling to part with the stores of grain in their possession. I think that has been to a great extent the cause of the present shortage in Pakistan. People who know feel that given normal harvest next year there will be enough to stop hoarding and speculation and make it unnecessary for Pakistan to go on importing food. I am not prepared to guess between these two views, one could not do so without an analytical study of what is happening in the villages or in the West Punjab to-day. The food shortage has been a complicating factor in Pakistan's economy in the last year.

END OF THE BOOM

Pakistan, too, like Indonesia and many other countries has suffered from the refusal to believe that the 1950 boom would not last for ever. Again and again the Government of Pakistan were warned that the prices of their products would fall; they would not believe it and went on spending as if prices would be maintained. That went on until the second quarter of 1952. Long after the signs had become apparent that world prices were falling Pakistan went on overspending. She set herself a programme of development; she wanted not to miss the opportunity of buying things while they were to be got. That led her into over-optimism and into overspending, it led her too long to delay the imposition of export duties and to make the reductions slighter than they should have been. Suddenly the signs of slump were so clear that no Government

could ignore them. There was something of a panic, people who were brimful of optimism became brimful of pessimism and they embarked on legislation which made matters worse. But legislation on matters of that sort is hardly ever wise, it takes a long time to deal with credit restrictions, import restrictions, and so on. When you do things in a hurry it is almost always wrong and it was the same with Pakistan. New regulations were introduced which made trading impossible; there were so many limitations round bank credits that it became completely impossible to get an irrevocable letter of credit.

It took a long time to persuade the Government that exporters would not supply Pakistan except on the basis of an irrevocable letter of credit. The effect of the restriction was for all practical purposes to bring trade to a standstill. It would have been better if the Government had put a straight embargo on large classes of imports. It would have caused less misunderstanding, less difficulty and bad feeling than was caused by this unwise method of doing something which had to be done. Since that time there has been a partial recovery. Pakistan cotton which was not moving at all has been moving fairly well of recent months. With jute they have had better results even in India in spite of the differential duty and of the factors which might have been expected to reduce their sales.

DEVALUATION UNLIKELY

On the whole, the Pakistan economic position looks happier now than it did. There is some slack which Pakistan can take up. She cannot go on spending at the rate of the boom period, and once she has adjusted herself to the new rates of spending her position will be quite happy. There is a good deal of scope for retrenchment in internal spending and for external spending. She is attending to this and has got down very well to the business of adjusting herself to the new situation. It is a pity that the Government did not do this six months sooner, and watched the position twelve months even before that.

Pakistan has got on with refashioning her economy and the pattern of imports to meet the new needs. The economy is thoroughly sound and there is nothing wrong with it but Pakistan has to slow down some of her development projects. Looking round most of the countries of Asia to-day one sees that the tendency has been to embark upon development projects beyond their real capacity, based upon some unreal capacity due to high prices. Now these countries are discovering that they must draw in their horns and develop a little less fast than they were hoping to do.

I am not in the secrets of the Government and I am not an economist or a prophet, but I see no good economic reason why Pakistan should

devalue at the present moment. It has been my conviction that Pakistan was fully justified in maintaining her rupee at 2s. 2d. in 1948. Had she devalued twelve months ago, some of her subsequent troubles might have been saved and her cotton kept moving, but her cotton is moving now. It is not likely that she would sell more jute after devaluation and she has a fairly big Government programme to carry out even after the reductions. No man who is prudent would make guesses about exchange values two years ahead, but in the immediate future I do not see any reason why Pakistan should devalue.

REMITTANCE DIFFICULTIES

• Pakistan is in need of help from the outside world if she is to develop as she needs to develop. We in this country, limited though the resources at our disposal are, want to give that help, but if we give it Pakistan must seek to make things easy for us. Business is not easy in Pakistan to-day. The non-Pakistani finds himself confronted by frustration at every turn, although in theory this should not be so. He is permitted to make profits but when he tries to take them out it is a nightmare. I know, because for three years I have been trying to remit money home from Pakistan. There is no law against it but one can never get the right form signed at the right time. That is the general experience and it seems incredible. There is plenty of goodwill but in practice it is difficult to carry on. If a sterling company cannot remit its profits, how is it supposed to carry on? Most companies have exhausted their credits and are on their beam ends. If I have to wait two years for my profits under modern conditions I may go bankrupt or give up because I have exhausted my cash resources.

I could speak of many of the economic devices which businesses have to practice. It has become hard to carry on business and I do appeal to Pakistan to make business a little easier. We know that there is goodwill, that Pakistan wants us there, and we want to help, but I ask for a little more encouragement—to those who are there to carry on than that which has been given during the last eighteen months.

CEYLONese ECONOMY

Some of the problems of Ceylon are parallel to those of Pakistan or Indonesia. In Ceylon there is a sense of sanity, goodwill, and balance. You see the signs of a good deal of prosperity, particularly in the neighbourhood of Colombo. The people are well-dressed and, on the whole, well-fed, in comparison with those of countries round about. You hear an incredible number of radio sets all over the place, and as you travel

round you do see the signs of prosperity. On the other hand, there are features of the country which are rather less satisfactory. The first of these is parallel to those I have described in Pakistan and Indonesia—the unwisdom of the financial policy followed by the Ceylon Government for two years, their refusal to believe that the boom period would come to an end, their indulgence in overspending, and the same kind of panic which struck Pakistan and which led to drastic measures—necessary perhaps—but taken in too much of a hurry to be smooth-working. The Ceylon economy is thoroughly sound, but it has to slow down to a different tempo. It is doing that, and with that in view there is no inherent unsoundness in the Ceylon economy.

Développement cannot go ahead as fast as they would like. It is extraordinary how many countries all over the world are apt to think that it is only necessary to wave a magic wand, to talk about raising the standard of living, that you need not bother to count the cost. The result is always the same. You get away with it for two or three years and then you find you have reached the state where you have to make drastic reductions. That is happening in Ceylon. They have realized that they cannot spend as they have been spending and they have had to cut some of the schemes which they put in hand. There was a well-timed visit of a team from a world-famous bank which drew up a scheme which has given them a good pattern for sound development at the pace they can afford. If they accept the advice given Ceylon has nothing to worry about in the economic field.

ERRORS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Economic nationalism is a necessary feature when countries begin to govern themselves. Ceylon has followed it fairly continuously for the last two years. She began by saying that certain imports could only be handled by Sinhalese. The desire to divert trade into the hands of nationals is reasonable but it cannot be done in that way and Ceylon had to cancel the original decrees. They still keep one order which seems to be impracticable and unwise, the Industrial Provisions Order, which means that if a man wants to import 100 articles of a particular kind he has to buy a specified number of indigenous articles of the same kind. That procedure, which has been tried in other countries, is applied to a wide variety of commodities in Ceylon. If you want to import 100 pairs of rubber shoes you have to buy 400 pairs of rubber shoes of local manufacture.

Whilst one has every sympathy with Ceylon, that is the one way not to raise prices. The local manufacturer works out prices and then fixes his

own to please himself. The result is that Ceylon is one of the most expensive places in the world for certain categories of imported goods. It is time local manufacturers improved the standard of their goods so that they can compete on equal ground with foreign articles. This kind of restriction may put a little cash into a few pockets but it cannot be a path to prosperity for the country as a whole.

This business of trying to force the employment of Sinhalese by restriction of entry permits has been carried too far and too fast and is not conducive to the general good. It seems to me that the stage has now come where countries which have had independence for five or six years should take stock of the position and ask themselves whether the methods by which they have tried to carry out an understandable economic nationalism are right; whether they are not hamstringing themselves and in the long run delaying their real development.

In Ceylon, as in most other Asian countries, the Communists are extremely active with their propaganda. They are hampered by the fact that there are three separate factions in Ceylon. I do not know whether they have different doctrines or not. It seems to me much more the case of factions of people not liking each other and preferring to work separately rather than together. Their hard work amongst labour on the tea estates is not having much success because labour has been handled very wisely both by the Government and the owners of plantations. The Government of Ceylon has had a much more realistic attitude towards labour than India. It did not set up the tribunals which in India have tended to make disputes rather than settle them. Ceylon has taken the view that disputes should be settled between employer and employee; the State's job may be to promote discussion or issues in Ceylon but not to give binding decisions. That policy has worked well and it has been followed by employers who have developed the principle of collective agreements with their labour forces to a high degree. I know of no country in Europe where agreements have been handled so well as in Ceylon. It has proved a useful brake on Communist activity.

IN SOUTH INDIA

On previous occasions I have spoken at length in this room about India, and I have not much to say which is new or startling. In the political sphere India seems to be happier and better than it was six months ago. When the elections were just finished everybody was disturbed about the success of the Communists in certain parts of South India and it was thought possible that attempts might be made to form Communist Governments in these areas. That, I am glad to say, has

not happened. In Travancore the Communist party managed to get together, but the great danger in Travancore is the bitter factions in the Congress party. They have formed a Government and kept themselves in office and I do not see any signs of disintegration. The planters who were very worried about the situation now feel they are on more solid ground, that the police have a better morale, that they are more sure of support from their Government. Action is taken more readily to deal with subversive activities, and there is a more healthy feeling among those who work in Travancore to-day than there was earlier in the year.

In Madras that wonderful old man, C. Rajagopalacharia, is carrying on with consummate skill; he is handling the situation as nobody else could handle it. Everybody in Madras feels that in spite of his minority he is perfectly safe. When anything crops up which might play into the hands of the Opposition he has an incredible way of drawing a red herring across the trail. When I saw him he said he would rather like to retire and meditate but I did not believe that; it was obvious he was enjoying himself thoroughly and doing a grand job in the process. As it was put to me by a number of competent observers, "As long as C.R. carries on, there is no fear of the Congress Party losing its position in the Madras State." That is a considerable step forward from what seemed likely six months ago.

COMMUNIST LITERATURE

Communism has had rather a set-back in India. I believe that if there were elections to-day the Communists would score nothing like as well as they did in the elections at the beginning of 1952. There is still a great deal of active Communist propaganda being carried on; Communist literature is as rife as when I spoke last. You can still pick up well-printed, well-bound Communist text books of a first-class character. I found when I was there that you could buy the complete works of Lenin for Rs. 3.8; in this country they cost £5. When I heard this I went to buy a copy but I could not get it. There is a good deal of house-to-house propaganda being carried on. The Communists take unto themselves various functions, they find people with troubles and try to put them right. They are working in a quiet social way now and it would be foolish to ignore the danger of that approach. At present the Communist movement can be regarded as fairly well under control.

I suppose most of us were regretful that Pandit Nehru found it necessary about three weeks ago to announce what amounted to a surrender with regard to the linguistic Provinces. He had set his face against the movement because he felt that in it lay the seeds of disruption for India, but

evidently he felt he had to give in to some extent and he made the concession of an Andhra State. I regret that decision and I have no doubt that Mr. Nehru deeply regrets that it became necessary. It is not for us to judge whether it was necessary, one does not know enough of the facts, but he found it necessary and it has been done.

The most important matter of the past three years in the economic sphere in India has been the production and the starting of the National Development plan. I do not know whether you have had time to read through the two massive volumes; they are well-written, interesting, and full of sound commonsense. I regard that Planning Report as the nearest approach to realism of almost any development plan which has been produced in Asia to-day. I do not mean that the targets will be realized; I think they will be too high. I do not think that India can increase her food production to $7\frac{1}{2}$ million tons by 1956. I think the original target of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons is nearer the mark, but you must pitch your target high if you want some achievement. Substantial progress is being made, however. They have had a good deal of success with their tube wells and I do see signs of more determination about this "grow more food" business than was observable two or three years ago.

The estimate that Rs. 738 crores will be available from current revenue within four years seems optimistic. I think we are at the beginning of a recess or a slump in the world generally. We can expect dwindling revenues and I doubt whether India will be able to produce Rs. 780 crores between now and the end of the five years. These are points of detail. If necessary, the plan can be extended; What has been put forward as the target for five years can be the target for ten years; but the plan is sensible, on the right lines, and there is nothing grandiose about it. I think the authors have done a first-class job for India.

LIKES AND DIFFERENCES

I have given you in as brief a compass as I could a picture of my main general impressions of the four countries of Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon and India. In one or two respects those four countries have something in common, all are suffering from food shortage, all are in the weak position of agricultural countries which cannot feed themselves; all have been made targets of the Communists for intensive propaganda; all have been guilty of over-optimism and overspending; all are trying to implement the right economic nationalism. Some are doing it by wise methods, others by unwise methods, but the uniformity stops there because there is a most complete contrast between Indonesia on the one hand and the three countries inside my black line on the other.

Indonesia stands for chaos; India, Pakistan and Ceylon show a remarkable degree of tranquillity and a remarkable degree of orderly progress. They are in fact, in my judgment, still the bulwark, the buffer, against the fast rising tide of disorder sweeping over the countries of South East Asia. Because they are the bulwark, because they are the last buffer, they are entitled to the maximum help which we in this country and the other freedom-loving nations of the world can give them. We are determined to give them what help we can, it is limited by our own plight; but there is no limit to the desire to assist them, to make quite certain that Communism will not sweep right across the rest of Asia. If we go to the extent we can to help Ceylon, India and Pakistan we are not just helping them, we are helping ourselves. When you can help yourselves and your very dear friends at the same time, the argument in favour of straining yourselves to the uttermost is very great indeed.

The lecture was followed by a flood of questions from Mr. T. S. Stirling, Dr. D. K. Rangnekar, Lieut.-Colonel Keighley-Bell, Miss Evelyn Gedge, Colonel C. H. Reinhold, Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, Mr. H. H. Hood, Mr. J. P. Brander, Sir Harold Shoobert and Dr. Malaiperman.

The CHAIRMAN asked whether the Americans were doing anything in the way of technical assistance or other aid in Indonesia?

He was rather surprised when Sir Percival said that economic nationalism was a good thing. He was not sure whether he had his tongue in his cheek when he said it, but he (the speaker) was one of the few people nowadays who believed in Free Trade, and it was extraordinary that they were trying to tempt rich American firms to set up factories in this country where we thought they would do good. He suggested that what was good for us was probably good for other countries as well.

He was very glad to hear Sir Percival say that the new Indian plan—of which he had only seen a summary—was so sound and on such a good basis. He remembered the days when the British Administration undertook the provisional foundations for this planning business and it was most gratifying to feel that that work had been carried on and that so much had been done. It had been kept on practical lines, and he was sure all would wish India, Pakistan, and Ceylon all good in the development work they were doing.

THE CHOICE OF PERSONNEL

Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS, in reply, said that Mr. Stirling asked whether there was any large section of the Indonesian people who would welcome

the return of the Dutch, and his answer was that there was no such section, any more than there was in India, Pakistan or Ceylon or any other country which had attained its freedom. There might be people who would say they wished it had never happened at a particular moment but there was no general feeling of that kind. However gloomy a view he took of Indonesia he would take a still more gloomy view if he heard that people wanted to surrender their independence. The Russians had an active press in Delhi and the funds of the Communist party in Russia provided for the sale of literature which cost practically nothing to produce.

Dr. Rangnekar in asking questions had said that nations which had foreign aid must protect themselves and make certain that they got a reasonable share of the benefits. He would agree, but nations expecting foreign aid must take care that they did not attach too many strings to it. Countries had to remember the point of view of the foreigner who if he ran a business in a particular country wanted three things: First, security, and that he got in India, Pakistan and Ceylon; secondly, he wanted to be certain that he could send back the reasonable profits he was allowed to earn; thirdly, he must be left reasonably free to choose his own personnel. Nobody with any sense would embark on building up a business in another country unless he was able to choose who would run it for him. He must be the judge of who was efficient and who was not. Any sensible man would employ to the maximum possible extent the people of the country but he might not want to have the basis on which he was able to do that laid down by artificial percentages. Pakistan had recently passed a rule by which a firm had to employ 51 per cent Pakistanis. He would deny the wisdom of an arbitrary figure; there might be industries in which 75 per cent could be employed, there might be others in which only 25 per cent could be employed. The attempt to lay down percentages was not only stultifying but would frighten away foreign investments. People left free to choose their own personnel would discover the economic value of recruiting people from the country in which the work was done.

In India figures had been quoted giving the progress of the employment of Indians in British-owned firms which showed a remarkable degree of advance. It was far safer and better to leave these things to be taken care of by good sense and goodwill. If these did not exist, then they would not have foreign aid. If the countries coming to the rescue were badly disposed it would be better to refuse their aid; but with countries like Britain, with which there was good feeling he would say, "leave them alone, do not fetter them on rigid points, but watch and see what happens."

With regard to fighting Communism in the intellectual field, it was a pity there was not more cultural contact between Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. In some centres there was less cultural contact now than

ten years ago. In his own Service the members had a large cultural interest in the countries in which they were working, but with their retirement that link was weakened. There should be some means of making these cultural contacts closer than they were.

PAKISTAN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Colonel Keighley-Bell spoke with regard to Pakistan becoming a sovereign republic and asked whether the idea was put forward by irresponsible people or whether it had to be taken seriously. He thought it had to be taken quite seriously as being the idea of a great many of the most responsible and most important people in Pakistan to-day. He was asked whether Pakistan scored by being a full member of the Commonwealth instead of being in the position occupied by India between partnership and non-partnership. He thought the Pakistan people would answer—wrongfully—that they had gained nothing by their full membership of the Commonwealth as compared with the arrangement adopted by India. He did not agree, but they would say that if the Commonwealth had done its duty it would have settled the Kashmir question. This was always brought up against the Commonwealth in Karachi.

With regard to quinine, during the Japanese occupation a good deal of cinchona was planted in Java, where the tea estates were ploughed up, and one of the main activities since the war had been pulling these trees out and replanting the tea plants. He did not know what quantity of quinine Indonesia was now exporting, he thought it was quite small.

Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck asked whether Indonesia in its present form was likely to continue. He would regard it as unlikely that it would remain as an entity. The hostility between some of the people on the other islands and Java was very marked and was growing and he would expect in the chaos which was rapidly spreading that some of the other parts would break away from Java altogether.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Mr. Hood asked whether the price of rice was falling or was likely to fall, and if this would relieve the great depression in the tea industry. He would only say now that the Governments concerned had undertaken to supply rice to the tea industry at controlled rates which would give some relief. Mr. Hood also asked whether the main hope of agricultural development lay in the use of fertilizers, tractor cultivation, or irrigation, and he thought the greatest hope was in the great river valley schemes. He imagined this would make a bigger contribution ultimately than

anything else. In the meantime, perhaps the important matter was the minor irrigation projects which were being carried out. In Madras they had experimented in tube wells but they had not been so successful as in the North. Some wells had been completely successful, one or two partially successful, and some had been complete failures because of the nature of the ground. In spite of the failures, however, minor irrigation was going ahead and would play quite a big part in the increase of food production. He himself would regard irrigation as the factor which would contribute most to the grow-more food scheme. He thought it was easy to exaggerate the value of fertilizers unless they were used with great discretion. They had all seen parts of the country where chemical fertilizers had been overdone; they had their place, but one should not exaggerate what could be done by them.

Another question was whether a shareholder who sold his shares could remit the capital. The answer would be that if a few shareholders wished to do so they could, but if a large number of people wanted to sell out he had not the least doubt that Pakistan would find it necessary to place some restrictions on the export of capital because her foreign exchange position was tricky.

Mr. Brander also referred to the passport difficulties between East and West Pakistan. Troublesome though it was, one had to keep a sense of proportion. Once it was recognized that India and Pakistan were complete and separate countries, it was a logical necessity to have some kind of passport. There was the same difficulty in parts of Europe where there were different frontiers. A passport was a necessary corollary of independence and complete separation. The real trouble was emotional. People panicked about the need for passports, but when they were taken for granted and there was not the same volume of coming and going that there was to-day, the difficulty would not be so great.

CRISIS IN THE TEA INDUSTRY

Mr. Brander raised the question of the tea crisis, which was twofold. On the one side there was a considerable increase in the cost of production resulting from taxation, and the wages position which arose out of the boom conditions of 1950. The Government insisted on assuming that these conditions would last and fixed wages extremely high. The industry could not afford to pay these wages and would still be in difficulties even if markets were normal. The world was producing too much tea; India, Pakistan and Ceylon made as much as those countries with Indonesia made before the war, and when Indonesia came into full production again it would find that its production was surplus. To-day 70 million

lbs. more tea was being produced than the world wanted and prices had fallen considerably.

Mr. Brander asked what redress the industry needed: it looked for redress in four directions. The first was with regard to rice which it had to supply to labour at concession rates, and in addition had to pay a high price for that rice. So the first remedy was to get rice from the Government at the proper price-level. Secondly, there had to be some effective reduction in the remuneration of labour which would take the form of slightly increasing the prices at which rice was sold to labour. The estates had to pay Rs. 22.8 but still had to sell it at Rs. 5; with the declining markets they must be allowed to increase that price substantially. The third direction was with regard to export and excise duties, which were put on at a time of great prosperity. Export duties at any time were unsound sources of revenue and were only justifiable in times of a seller's market. The time had long since passed when the export duty on tea and most commodities could be taken off.

In reply to further questions by Mr. Brander he could not see any signs of the emergence in Indonesia of a strong dictator; he could see two or three men of great ability who might be better at handling things than those in office now, but that was all. As to the Europeans or Americans taking over Indonesia he would regard that as outside the bounds of possibility. If Indonesia was taken over again he would expect it to be by the Chinese Communists.

Sir Harold Shoober referred to the failure of the harvest and whether he thought it was due to diversion of the rivers from the East Punjab. He had discussed this with people in Karachi and he did not see there any fears that such diversion had produced these results but he was not speaking from personal observation.

EXPANSIONIST COMMUNISM

Dr. Malaiperuman had asked whether it was possible for two countries in Asia with divergent ideologies to live in amity. Did the fact that China was Communist and India non-Communist mean that there would be strife between them? He did not think that divergent ideologies meant strife between two countries, but when a philosophy was such that it could not help but be aggressive and truculent, desiring to convert the rest of the world, the case was rather different. When he looked at Communism anywhere two things struck him; the first was that on theoretical grounds it was bound to be truculent and, quite apart from theory. Experience showed that Communism was expansionist and aggressive, it would not leave other people alone. China would not

leave other nations alone, so that whatever the correct academic answer, he had not the slightest doubt that there would be no long-term peace between Communist and non-Communist countries unless the Communists changed their attitude towards the world. India would find it necessary to fall into line with the anti-Communist *bloc* and make it clear that she, as well as Britain and the other countries concerned, were the undying opponents of a way of life which was founded on the spirit of aggression. India would find in due course when that day came that she would stand shoulder to shoulder with this country in the determination to stop the progress of Communism.

The Chairman had asked whether American technical aid was being given to Indonesia. His reply was that a good deal was being given, as in all countries of South East Asia at the moment. He was sorry the Chairman disagreed with him on such a vital point as Free Trade. He was not yet converted to Free Trade as a doctrine for all countries at all times. There were times when it was good and there were other times when it was not. He had a great deal of sympathy with economic nationalism but there were wise and unwise ways of implementing it. He had tried to indicate some of the ways in which it had been done and why he regarded some as wise and some as unwise.

The Right Hon. Sir PATRICK SPENS, QC, MP, expressed the thanks of the meeting to the Chairman and the Lecturer. He also expressed appreciation of the presence in the meeting of the High Commissioner for Ceylon.

He thought the Association was fortunate in having these periodical reviews of the regions in which they all took so much interest. He had been surprised that so far as the legal sphere was concerned our contacts remained so close. Every term he had the honour of coming into contact with law students from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. He thought it was very wise of them to get an English training, and it was important that they should establish friendships with our young men over here.

They would regret that Sir Percival could not be optimistic with regard to the future of Indonesia. He had a personal interest in a small area beyond Sir Percival's black line, in North Borneo, where the people were mostly extraordinarily happy, prosperous, and immune from Communism.

He agreed with Sir Percival that we should give our best to the whole of South East Asia by doing what we could to help India, Pakistan and Ceylon. They had their difficulties and it was not easy always to understand them but our interest remained the same. The more the East India Association did to bind East and West together by its meetings and addresses the more it was doing for the peace of the world.

The New Era in the Sub-Continent

By the Right Hon. Lord OGMORE

A JOINT MEETING of the Association and the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Monday, 2nd February, 1953, when a talk was to have been given by the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, CH, MP, on "My Visit to Pakistan, India, and Burma." Unfortunately, owing to illness, Mr. Attlee was unable to attend; and in his place Lord OGMORE gave an address. The Chair was taken by the Rt. Hon. Lord HAILEY who said they were all disappointed to learn that Mr. Attlee was confined to bed by indisposition. He had a letter from Mrs. Attlee, written only the previous evening, in which she still thought Mr. Attlee would be able to be present. Their natural disappointment was shared by Mr. Attlee himself. He had written as follows:—

"I deeply regret that owing to a slight indisposition I am unable to address you this evening on my recent visit to India, Pakistan, and Burma, and I ask you to accept my apologies. I am, however, most grateful to Lord Ogmores for his willingness to take my place. His wide experience will enable him to tell you a great deal about these countries both as to their past history and their future hopes."

Lord Hailey went on to say that they would all hope for Mr. Attlee's speedy convalescence and that they might expect to see him on some future occasion. They were grateful to Lord Ogmores for having at the very shortest notice consented to take Mr. Attlee's place. Lord Ogmores had had a personal experience of the Far East, and had moreover to deal with the problems both of India and Pakistan as Minister in the late Government.

Lord OGMORE said: In many of the tube trains there is a familiar notice which says, "There is no substitute for wool," and at the risk of giving a free advertisement to the wool trade I would say that there is no substitute for Mr. Attlee, not only at this meeting, but in other places as well. He is a great man, and, speaking as a politician, I say that we are very lucky to have had his wise guidance for a number of years and I hope it will continue.

I ask for the forbearance of this meeting. I am talking at very short notice to a highly knowledgeable audience, which must always be a matter of some strain, because, after all, they know when one makes a mistake.

as the ordinary audience does not. This is an audience of experts. I remember years ago when I was first in the House of Commons I asked another member what there was about that place which made it so difficult to speak in. I said that I had spoken to every kind of audience, from a meeting in a public park to one in the Albert Hall, but had never encountered such difficulty as in the House of Commons, and his reply was, "It is just like a magician speaking to the Magic Circle. We are all magicians here."

MR. ATTLEE IN PAKISTAN

I do know roughly some of the points that Mr. Attlee would have made had he been here this evening—the main points that struck him in his recent interesting tour of Pakistan, India, and Burma. He had been there before on the Simon Commission and was able to compare the progress made in the 23 or more years since then.

His first stay in the sub-continent was at Karachi. He had there a good opportunity of learning, what was not new to him, the difficulties that beset those who try to develop underdeveloped countries. He was much impressed by the cultivation of the land in the Indus Valley. He thought it had great potentialities, but his visit coincided with a plague of locusts, so he was able to see that in the East very often where man proposes, the insect world disposes otherwise. He thought that there was not much indication of Communism in Pakistan and he was impressed by the increased spirit of friendliness shown by the people. He thinks that Pakistan will probably be a Republic, but within the Commonwealth, on something the same lines as India.

Mr. Attlee was much struck by the good work done in Pakistan since independence. The authorities started with very little indeed. They had to set up a Government and they had great difficulty in getting it going. He was greatly impressed with the progress they had made, and he found throughout his discussions with the people in Pakistan that there was considerable appreciation of the good work done by the British in their long association with the country. He found little desire for change for change's sake. One of the great problems was that of the refugee, particularly in Karachi.

He then went on to New Delhi, where he met the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru. He thought that while the Congress had a very firm hold on Indian opinion, there is a considerable body of opposition to the Government as well, probably more in India than in Pakistan. Communism is fairly strong in the south, in Madras, for example. In Mr. Attlee's view it is more than ever necessary that the Socialist Party

in India should stay in opposition and not join Congress; he does not think it would be wise in the circumstances. Here again, in Calcutta, as later in Rangoon he found the refugee problem, which in Asia as in so much of Europe is a legacy of the happenings of recent years.

Burma was the target of his visit. The Asian Socialist Federation was meeting in conference in Rangoon, and it was with the object of attending the conference on behalf of the International Socialist Federation that Mr. Attlee went there. Fighting was still going on up-country, and Communism in Burma as everywhere else has a vested interest in anarchy.

He was much impressed with the Conference arrangements. Three committees were set up, the first to consider the principles and objectives of Socialism, the second to discuss agrarian and economic problems, and the third dealt with colonialism. There was substantial agreement as to the first, and there was no doubt among the representatives who attended from a large number of countries as to the true nature of Communism. The Socialist parties are not blinded in any way by Communist propaganda. On the subject of Asia and world peace, he found that there was a tendency to fight shy of commitments. Mr. Attlee told the Conference that whilst democratic Socialism was the alternative to Communism and to capitalism, the idea of building up a third force either economically or militarily comparable with either of them, like the great Continental *blocs*, was an illusion.

Such an axiom may be regarded as a truism, but it has been by no means a truism in many parts of the world up to now, and it is very important that this should have been rubbed home by Mr. Attlee to the delegates at Rangoon. In our own country there has been a great deal of wishful thinking over this matter. The idea has been advanced that one could erect a third force which would enable one to do without the help either of America or Russia. Mr. Attlee's view is that neutralism means complete subservience to Soviet interests.

It had been hoped that the Asian Socialists would have co-operated and perhaps become members of the International Socialist Federation, but it was decided to set up a council for liaison with the Socialist International and perhaps gradually to approach nearer and nearer to the Western Socialists. There was still a suspicion that all European parties were rather tainted with the spirit of colonialism.

MR. ATTLEE'S ADVICE

Sound speeches were made by the Uganda and Malayan delegates, both their countries closely associated with us, the one a Protectorate and the other Protected States. The delegates from India, Israel, and

Burma, whose parties have had experience of office, and were perhaps rather chastened in consequence, and not so liable as some of their colleagues from other countries who had no such experience to embrace unsound policies. Mr. Attlee tried to put over to the delegates the view that it was necessary to help the less developed areas, but that it was necessary to do so without infringing their self-determination, and he hoped to get from them ideas on this point, because, of course, we have our own ideas but we look at things from a slightly different viewpoint. He did not get much response on this question except from Uganda. One of the fundamental objectives that we have to seek is to develop the economic life of these countries, especially those which have lately become independent, without letting them feel that we are interfering with their self-determination.

Those were, generally speaking, the sort of points Mr. Attlee would have made—no doubt with a great deal more force—had he been addressing you this evening. For what I say from now onwards Mr. Attlee is in no way responsible. In past years, in dealing with the new countries, either in the Commonwealth Relations Office or in the United Nations, Organization, I had various Commonwealth problems firmly and clearly impressed on my mind.

INDEPENDENCE AND FRIENDLINESS

We are rather apt to take for granted the wonderful development that there has been in the Commonwealth. Here we have these four countries—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma—previously not independent, which have become independent. Strangely enough, we hear very little about Ceylon. That was a most interesting unfolding—in a way more interesting from our point of view or the Colonial Office point of view, than the others, because that is the sort of way which we hope so many other colonies will go.

What are the effects of the independence of these four countries? As Mr. Attlee saw in his tour—and what he said is applicable to non-Socialist as well as to Socialist circles—there is an increase in the friendliness of the peoples to the British people as a whole. I noticed that myself when I was last in Calcutta. The atmosphere was quite different from that which obtained before independence. It was shown in the way the people talked to one. They seemed to be very friendly, even jolly. Actually there are more Britons employed in India in this era of independence than there were before. The late High Commissioner for Ceylon told me that there were three times as many employed in Ceylon. By the word " Briton " I mean for this purpose, people from the United Kingdom.

Economically, of course, the change has been enormous. Before the war the imports into India and Pakistan *from* the United Kingdom were of the value of approximately £50 million a year ; in 1951 they were just on £200 million, which gives some idea of the difference; there is roughly the same increase with regard to exports to the United Kingdom. You may think this difference is very largely due to the decrease in the value of money and the increase in the cost of goods. To some extent it may be so, but I do not think that the enormous changes between the exports and imports of India and Pakistan in relation to this country are solely to be ascribed to this cause. They do represent a considerable increase in the trade between India—using the word in its old sense—and this country, and the same ratio of increase of trade with the United Kingdom applies as regards Ceylon.

LEADERSHIP

As I said, Mr. Attlee found that right throughout these countries there was still a suspicion of colonialism. They still believe that in our heart of hearts, whether we call ourselves Conservatives, Liberals or Socialists, there is a little bit of colonialism in us, and so they have this hankering after the third force. Since the war, in my opinion, India has aimed at the leadership in the East, and many people of the non-white races would say that she is entitled to such leadership. She has aimed at the moral leadership of the non-white races, and if it had not been for the Communist revolution in China and even more, for the question of Kashmir very likely she would have achieved this leadership. There is a great and significant fact in world history that this great country had, so far as Britain was concerned, in a bloodless way, achieved independence and, having been in such close association with a Western Power, was now running her affairs on an enormous scale. I need not remind you that there is no other country in the world with an electorate equal to that of India. Pakistan has tried to achieve the leadership of Mohammedan countries, particularly in the Middle East, and for that leadership she has to struggle with Egypt.

What has chiefly prevented India from achieving her objective of moral leadership over the non-Western peoples has been this problem of Kashmir, and having tried to bring the two sides together, and at one time having believed—prematurely as it turned out—that I had gone some little way in doing so, I know only too well the thorny nature of this problem of Kashmir. But we shall all agree that it is the sort of problem that should be settled, and settled soon. I do not see how this thorn in the side of both peoples can possibly be allowed by them to remain and to fester.

I do hope they will be able to come to an agreement over this vexed question of Kashmir.

NATIONALISM AND TRUSTEESHIP

If independence had come to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma in the normal way, without the great change in China and other parts of the East, it would have been difficult enough to carry through smoothly, but in fact the change has come about against a background of tremendous tension in the Far East. We have had not only in the Far East but also in the Middle East since the war an exacerbation of the spirit of nationalism and reformism—nationalism politically and reformism economically. In China the reformist spirit was turned into Communism, largely because the Government was not reformist enough. The Chinese Nationalist Government's methods were not to the taste of a people who thought there should be more reform than there had been particularly with reference to the land. Colonialism as we know it is dead or dying, and what passes for it in various countries is most fiercely attacked by these new independent countries, particularly by India and Pakistan.

I have been a member of Committee Four of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Committee, to which the report of the Trusteeship Council comes for consideration, and I have often felt in this Committee that I, so to speak, stood in the dock. I have the Report of last year's proceedings and the atmosphere does not seem to have changed since I was there myself. Owing to the fact that at the time when I was a member—I am talking of the 1950 Assembly—the parties in the House of Commons were closer in numbers than they are to-day, our colleagues who were members of the House of Commons had to return here to vote, and only those who were Peers were left. We did our best, and in the result I had several committees to look after. In Committee Two, for example, I would move constructive amendments on economic planning for the underdeveloped countries and then before I could go further there would be a tap on the shoulder and someone would say, "You must go into Committee Four and make a speech in defence of British policy," and off I would go, and find a very different atmosphere to Committee Two; there was not much interest in the constructive work we were doing; I felt that I was in the dock instead of feeling as in Committee Two the British were regarded as rather bright boys.

In Committee Four the feeling of two centuries of suppression was surging up the whole time. If there is any one here in Britain who still thinks that he can ever restore old-fashioned colonialism, half-an-hour in Committee Four would diabolise him. You could sense the bitter

feeling surging up; and this was true not only of Committee Four, the Trusteeship Committee, but also of other committees such as those which deal with Morocco, Tunis, South-west Africa, Indonesian South Africa and so on.

Traditionally the two great moral and cultural forces in the East have been China and India and South-east Asia has been the bridge between them. It is true to say that the people of this entire region, and particularly the people of the countries which have recently acquired independence, do not want people of the West handling their affairs except on their own terms. The trouble is that we are not told what those terms are. The terms are often contradictory. They are inclined to say, "Better self-rule than good rule from outside." These are significant factors which we in the West cannot overlook, and the relationship of China with the West is also a relevant factor.

[After discussing American apparent change of policy under the new Administration in respect of Formosa Lord Cgmore continued.]

"WHAT HAVE WE TO OFFER?"

I believe that our problem, in the Western world, not only for our own sake, but for the sake of India and the East, is to suggest an alternative both to colonialism and to Communism. What have we, particularly this country of Britain, to offer to the Chinese of the present day, to a man in the Shan States, to an Indonesian, say a Batak of Sumatra, and to the toiling peoples of India and Pakistan? Our American friends would say that we can suggest to them that they should adopt the American way of life. But what is the American way of life? And how do you apply the American way of life to an Indian living in Poona or to a Chinese living in Nanking?

The alternative is not to bring the West to the Far East. The old colonialism has been discredited, and we dread Communism because we know what an evil force it is in the world to-day. What have we to offer instead? In finance and economics we British, can say that we have led the way. We think of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the Colonial Development Corporation (although unfortunately handicapped by its terms of reference); these have done something in colonial development which could be copied in world development. We have the World Bank, the Colombo Plan, and Point IV. All these have had some bearing on this problem. But the point that Mr. Attlee posed in Rangoon is still the important one: How do you develop an under-developed country without at the same time offending its *amour propre*, its belief in its powers of self-determination? That is a problem we have

not yet solved and it is made worse by the inevitable tendency of new countries to try to become self-sufficient and to build up an economy which is going to isolate them from the rest of the world. I got into trouble once for saying, "We don't want all the colonies to become little Lancashires." What I meant was that a country cannot supply itself with everything, and it is better to concentrate exports on what the world wants rather than on what it does not.

With regard to the political aspect of the problem, in this country we are used to Parliamentary democracies and our political parties work with due regard to custom and tradition. The House in which the Chairman and I sit has in effect, few if any formal Orders. About such matters as order and government of its proceedings they say very little. But we have our customs and we run our business perfectly well because we understand and respect our traditions. Nevertheless it always seems to me much more difficult to apply those traditions to a new country where they probably have not had experience of Parliamentary democracy. A hundred years ago the House of Commons in this country was like the House of Lords to-day. Both are essentially "English" rather than Celtic in their backgrounds. The House of Commons had very few Orders, and it was only when the Irish Home Rulers began to take a keen interest in obstructing the business of the House that formal rules had to be framed and applied.

THE CIVIL SERVICES

Then there is the administrative problem. How are these countries to secure the same sort of Civil Service that Britain has given to the world? One of Britain's greatest contributions has been a Civil Service—Home, Indian, and Colonial. There was never anything like it before and there is very little like it now—an absolutely incorruptible Civil Service. I was for some time a colonial myself, during the time I spent at the Bar in South East Asia, I never once from any of my clients heard a suggestion that the judges and magistrates before whom I was appearing were corrupt. Had there been the slightest suspicion of it they would have uttered it. They were not silent sufferers. They often said, of course, that the magistrate was led astray, sometimes by magic, but they never once said that the magistrate or the judge was corrupt, and that is a wonderful tribute and should be remembered.

We have in our colonial system, many countries coming forward towards self-government and they are all watching these new countries, India, Ceylon and the rest very closely. The West African territories are a case in point. They are not all however going the same way as India

and Pakistan, for some, owing to isolation or economic deficiencies, will never be in a position to be virtually independent, although they may have self-government in domestic affairs. Therefore, it concerns us, as friends and comrades of these great countries in the Commonwealth, to afford all the guidance we can in order to enable them to reach the end that is desired. In particular one of the greatest needs of modern times is for us to extend to the new independent members of the Commonwealth, on a personal as well as on a national basis, understanding and sympathy with their difficulties. The problems of the Commonwealth are those of the rest of the world, but because we have in the Commonwealth common factors which other individual countries have not, we may yet lead the way in mutual assistance and be once again an example to mankind in the spirit of brotherhood.

THE FINANCING OF AID

At the end of Lord Ogmore's address questions were invited. Asked whether it was possible for either Great Britain or America to develop the undeveloped countries unless some sort of security for the capital invested were given, Lord Ogmore said that he agreed that if it was required to finance and develop a country, those who provided the finance had to receive good security that they were going to get their money back and some reasonable prospect of profit. As regards public finance, this had been coming under Point IV and the World Bank and so on. They had their own rules and regulations, and perhaps it was easier to get an independent country to agree to the sort of stipulations which a public Corporation like the World Bank required. Private capital also needed certain security. The countries concerned, he thought, would need both sorts of capital. If the rules that had been applied in this country to American capital were adopted in Asia it would be very helpful.

When he spoke of colonialism, although as a Celt and one of the local aborigines he did not like the idea of the people of one race being subject to the people of another, yet, if one had colonialism, he thought the British had done a very good job at it. But they were talking not only about British but about other colonizers, and some of these others were not as good as the British had been.

INDIA OLD, YET YOUNG

Lord HAILEY, from the Chair, said: I wish to say on behalf of all present how much we appreciate what Lord Ogmore has told us, first of all, about Mr. Attlee's own visit to India and the views expressed by him, and,

secondly, in regard to the wider themes which occupied the latter part of his address, concerning the position of Great Britain and the Commonwealth *vis-à-vis* the Eastern peoples. When he spoke of what Mr. Attlee had said about his own visit to India, I was reminded of something written recently by an Italian journalist who made a rough comparison between India and Italy. He remarked with great truth, that a country may be a very old country, and a people a very old people, but it may nevertheless be a very young State. It is curious how the parallel holds between Italy and India. Although a country may have something like a common racial origin and a common history, that does not give it unity; it can only learn unity by experience and through the practice of compromise. Finally, my Italian friend made the point which Lord Ogmores has also made, that the most difficult thing of all for a young state is to learn how to provide itself with a really reliable public service.

In that respect India is perhaps more fortunate than Italy, because it inherited a public service which was without parallel in its organization and which enjoyed a high morale. If India can only maintain that morale she will have got through a great part of her difficulties. The fact remains that a new State is at once a great challenge and a great inspiration, and India and Pakistan are we may be sure feeling that to-day. If they can meet the challenge, then they will fill a great new place in the world—a place of which we, who have introduced them to the modern world of politics, may very well feel proud.

But equally, as Lord Ogmores also has reminded us, we and the rest of the world have a responsibility to help to improve the economic and social conditions of the less developed peoples, and so to raise their standards of life that they may fill the place which we hope to see them occupy. The problem is how to do that without injuring their own spirit of self-determination. Lord Ogmores has drawn on his recollections of the meetings of the United Nations Organization as providing examples of the strong feeling expressed there against accepting the kind of dependence which is now represented as the result of "colonialism." However inappropriate the term, we know what it stands for, and I myself have for many years warned my friends that they must prepare themselves to see the gradual passing away of the most typical examples of the colonial status. It might be that we might have to envisage a new status, expressing a suitable form of association with the Commonwealth, but providing at the same time for a more fully recognized status of political independence on the part of the unit concerned. But I am in any case convinced that we can not expect to see a more homogeneous form of Commonwealth, unless there is a very substantial change in the form of colonial status now occupied by a large number of the colonial units.

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN BEAUMONT in proposing a vote of thanks said: Lord Ogmore has had a difficult task in coming here and telling us about somebody's else's journey and in giving us an outline of what Mr. Attlee would have said had he been able to be present. He has given an extraordinarily interesting and thought-provoking lecture.

I do think that we owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the Labour Government for the policy they adopted in handing over India and Pakistan to self-government. When I was in India, though I was not a politician I knew a great many politicians of every sort, Hindus, Muslims, and the rest, and I was absolutely certain when I left Bombay in 1943 that as soon as the war was over we should give India self-government. I appreciate that the old colonial spirit is dead. I think the Labour Government is entitled to enormous credit for carrying out their difficult decision, because we had our pride in all that we had done in India and were naturally reluctant to let it go. It was a very courageous decision to make.

Australasia through Pakistani eyes

By FAREED S. JAFRI*

THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA have recently offered Pakistan economic assistance amounting to 3.7 million Australian pounds out of their total contribution of 8.75 million pounds for the period ending June under the Colombo Plan. The goods will comprise machinery and equipment needed for Pakistan's economy, particularly electrical and agricultural equipment and railway locomotives.

The Government of Pakistan on the other hand have promised a gift of 30 heads of calves of Red Sindhi and Sahiwal breeds and the Punjab buffaloes as their contribution to the scheme of technical co-operation under the Colombo Plan. As a result of these mutual exchanges, great goodwill has grown between Australia and Pakistan. This relationship clearly shows the true trends in Pakistan to-day. Pakistan was born as an Islamic country and as such considers itself an important limb of the Islamic body-politic. In fact, the last words spoken in a public meeting

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by Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, were addressed to the "Brotherhood of Islam." The notes of his undelivered speech for the Rawalpindi meeting, discovered among his papers by his wife, proclaimed to the world: "The world should know that the Muslim world stands together." Yet, Pakistan has been the most loyal of all members of the family of the Commonwealth of Nations. This dual position of this young Islamic State gives it a true Asian colour. It is Islamic in the affairs of the Muslim world. It is Asian in the problems of Asia. It is a Commonwealth in the affairs of the world.

When I received the invitation of Mr. Menzies to visit Australia as his guest during the Australian Jubilee celebrations, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan called me and handed over to me a memorable message of goodwill for the people of Australia. Later he incorporated it in his message to a brochure published by the Pakistani High Commission as a souvenir. Liaquat told me: "The friendly people of Australia have, ever since the inception of Pakistan, taken the liveliest interest in the fortunes of our country. As befits a people who are true to the ideals of international peace and fellowship they have not been content with mere expression of goodwill and sympathy but have extended a helping hand to us in many ways. Let me assure them that the Pakistanis fully reciprocate their feelings of friendship and sympathy and would always be prepared to co-operate with them in promoting common ideals of peace, progress and happiness."

This was something more than a formal exchange of diplomatic niceties between two friendly governments. It is a fact that Australia is greatly appreciated by a large number of people in Pakistan. Why is that so? I could not answer this question if I had not visited Australia myself. I found the answer in Australian landscapes, agriculture, a vast panorama of undeveloped fields, growing industrial areas, a variety of races, religious and linguistic problems and above all the general attitude of the Australian people towards life.

THE APPROACH

The similarity between Asia and Australia strikes a visitor as soon as he lands at Darwin, which is the gateway to Australia from South-East Asia. In spite of the wide gap which the Pacific has opened between the two continents, the very easiness of the approach from Java, Borneo and other Indonesian islands adds a new colour to the rainbow pattern of the Australian races. It becomes a continuous link of the Asian continent. There are to-day large numbers of people in Australia who prefer to call their continent Australasia.

In Darwin no Pakistani can ever feel out of place for the very air of the town is Pakistani. The narrow roads, bumpy for small sized

Australian cars, cut through a spreading countryside of familiar *babul* thorns, *neem* trees and jasmine bushes. The ruins of houses and churches, the familiar trees of mangoes, guavas, papayas, custard apple, banana groves and even the jack fruit trees here and there, reminded me of Northern Pakistan. The air was warm and the mosquitoes were humming the same tune I had been hearing since my birth.

Darwin as a town is only three hundred years old and has to-day a population of 4,000. But it is developing. And it has the prospect of becoming a fully grown seaport. Who knows, in years to come Darwin may be another Bombay or Singapore with its natural harbour and rich countryside. The guide informed me: "To a Dutchman, William Janszoon, must go the credit for the discovery of this part of Australia known to us as Arnhem Land and parts of the gulf of Carpentaria. This was in 1606 when he sailed in the 30-ton yacht, 'Duifken.' However, it was not until 1839 that Commander Wickham discovered, near the western entry to Clarence Straits, to use his own words, "a magnificent harbour which afforded us an opportunity to convince an old shipmate that he still lived in our memory, so we named the sheet of water Port Darwin." The old shipmate was the famous Charles Darwin who had visited Sydney and Tasmania in 1836.

Looking round Darwin, I wondered if it was there he discovered his theory of the evolution of man. It is quite likely that Arnhem land provided enough material of varying human species to him to build up his theory.

What interested me most was the strategic position of Darwin. It was from Batavia that Abel Tasman, founder of Tasmania, had stepped on the soil of Australia. It has been linked with an overland Telegraph line since 1872 (built at a cost of £339,000) and has also been linked by submarine cable to London via Java and Singapore. There are still large numbers of Dutch people in Darwin and more are arriving every day to settle on its land and cattle farms. Being a jumping off ground from New Guinea, Darwin's importance is considerable. In case of any political flood emerging from Central Asia and sweeping through the Straits of Malaya and the Indonesian islands, Darwin's defences will have to be very strong indeed. As the pioneer seafarers, of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the adventurers and settlers of the eighteenth century made their way to the vast unexplored lands of Australia through Darwin and nearby coastal ports so would come the future adventurers and opportunity seekers.

I was glad to see the harbour, and its magnificent view. It cost £306,000. For a mere 4,000 population, it provides a real paradise. Among them are not only Europeans but also Austro-Abbos, Dutch,

Indo-Dutch, Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Pakistanis and even a few Pakistani traders. I was told that the Government wanted to maintain Darwin as a Navy, Air Force and Army garrison town though further development was being planned. Will Darwin ever expand to the size of Singapore or Bombay? The Australians told me that it was not desired. I do not agree. Not only would it not be natural to restrict the growth of such a fertile land but it would be strategically advisable to have another Singapore or Bombay in that part of the Pacific.

Incidentally, it was to Darwin that the first flight from England to Australia was made. It was in 1919 that Ross and Keith Smith flew to Australia and opened the air route. A tablet marks the landing place.

From the same airport where Ross and Smith had landed, I embarked again for my second hop in Australia, Sydney, the second largest white city in the Commonwealth.

AUSTRALIAN SHEEP IN PAKISTANI CLOAK

I was in time for the annual sheep show. I had as my headwear the famous Jinnah cap, made of sheep wool. The Australians were literally amused, more so, when they learnt that their present breed of Merinos is half Pakistani by blood. It is a cross between Spanish Merinos exported to Australia in 1765 and mated with Pakistani sheep in 1800. From 29 cross-bred sheep, they number 108,000,000 to-day. The record price paid for a ram of this breed was 5,000 guineas in 1945.

Sydney is a very important centre for the Australian wool trade because half of the wool-growing sheep are found in New South Wales. Other centres are Queensland, Victoria, South Australia and the South-West of Western Australia. Nature has been very kind to Australian sheep because her winter suits the Merino temperament which do not need shepherding, housing or feeding. Their main food is grass with some improved and cultivated pastures. The Pakistani sheep have the same natural facilities. Why cannot Pakistan take to sheep farming with scientific planning? It can help to solve some of the economic problems of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Kalat and the mountainous parts of the Punjab. Probably the Australians, if approached, would help Pakistan to re-cross the Pakistani sheep with their Merinos. After all, Australian wool is being sought after all over the world, even the Soviet Union is a keen buyer. They are paying record prices. There are about 113,000,000 sheep in Australia. The world's largest Merino stud is in New South Wales of which Sydney is the capital. It covers 520 acres and grazes a maximum of 120,000 sheep. The average wool clip usually exceeds 1,000,000,000 lbs. The annual value of all wool sales in New South Wales realized £286,628,900 in the 1949-50 boom.

An Australian sheep-farmer told me that Pakistan should forbid goat-breeding which is responsible for the widespread soil erosion and growing deserts in the Punjab and Sind. Instead, sheep farming should be taken up seriously. Along with the raw wool produce, woollen cloth mills and carpet factories can provide much of the needed employment to the hill-men of the Frontier Province and the wandering Afghan tribesmen who have no particular settlement of their own. Wise advice indeed.

Looking round Sydney and gathering first-hand information from people like General Northcote, the Governor of New South Wales and J. McGirr, the former Premier, I could foresee the future of Karachi. There was no doubt in my mind that less than a hundred years ago Sydney could not have been very different from what Karachi is to-day. Mr. J. McGirr, one of the strongest men in the Australian Labour Party, proudly claimed that New South Wales was the mother State of Australia. He was not being provincial in the least though the Australians do suffer from provincialism.

KARACHI AND SHALIMAR IN SYDNEY

Mr. J. McGirr was busy building up Sydney into another Tokyo or maybe New York minus the skyscrapers. I could see that Sydney knew its importance in the South Pacific. Karachi is also bent to-day on a proper position in the Middle East. The two together may one day hold Peking at bay. Their material problems are similar in spite of some hundreds of decades between them. Sydney's fast growing chimneys are puffing out miserable sighs for more and more coal. It depends even on Indian coal. An Indian ship was in the harbour of Sydney unloading bags of coal when I went round—another commendable Commonwealth gesture, I thought. But like the hectic efforts being made in Sind for the development of two barrages, Sukkar and new Kotri, the New South Wales Government was also tapping the hydro-electric potentialities around Sydney. New South Wales and many other parts of Australia suffered for the want of water like Karachi and many other parts of Pakistan. The estimated cost of the hydro-electric plant was £A.200,000,000. New South Wales coal output was also being vigorously increased by developing open-cut mining and mechanizing the deep mines. Preparations were afoot to work new underground mines.

New South Wales to-day has a population of 3,300,000 and out of this 390,000 are employed in factories, 70,000 in agriculture and mixed farming, 45,000 in cattle and sheep raising and 35,000 in dairying. When the hydro-electric project gets going, it is expected to irrigate over 2,000,000 acre-feet a year and will further increase the value of explorable produce to £A.32,000,000 a year.

While sight-seeing I discovered two little Pakistans in the heart of Sydney. In the Bohemian part of the town, two restaurant-cum-night clubs named after Karachi and the beautiful Moghul garden Shalimar of Srinagar and Lahore have provided quite a "native" atmosphere. I was proud of the discovery because till then even the Pakistan High Commission officers had no knowledge of their existence. There one could meet large number of Asian settlers, particularly Pakistanis, Indians, Chinese and Abbos. In spite of the recent White policy on the question of new immigrants, these men and women had nothing to complain of. They were quite happy and prosperous. They were both traders and workers in factories and fields. I met a representative of a Pakistani banker in Sydney whose daughter recently married the son of our Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin. She was an Australian citizen till her marriage.

EDUCATING ASIA

Besides permanent Asian settlers, Australia has a large number of Asian students. They are very popular in the country and none of them complained to me of any colour bar or racial stigma. The Australian Government has provided £A.30,000 yearly for the welfare of Asian students. A number of senior and junior fellowship scholarships are reserved for these students. The cost of travel to and from Australia is also paid by the Australian Government. Some of the students are even provided with paid work during the vacations. There were of course quite a number of Pakistanis among these. They were mostly studying agriculture and mechanical engineering. During my cross-country tour I came across students from China, North Borneo, Ceylon, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaya, Sarawak, Philippines, India and Pakistan.

The educational system of the country greatly impressed me because it is suitable to our own needs. Education in Australia, as in Pakistan, is not a federal subject. Each State has its own independent system suiting its own provincial needs. Primary education is based on "purposeful play and bustle." A system of education by correspondence has been introduced recently. A form of one-teacher schools has also been brought into full force whereby one teacher provides instruction for children of different groups of ages. Transport for children is provided which covers considerable distances. There are some 5,000 such schools. Education is also conveyed through radio and the film. The system of direct broadcasts to schools is very popular and is considered complete in every way by experts. There is a flying doctor wireless system for the children in the outback. These methods have helped to make literacy almost hundred percent during the Jubilee year. To-day 222,000 pupils

were attending 1,298 primary and secondary schools. Besides these there are a large number of exclusive schools for agriculture and purely technical subjects.

The same development has taken place in university education. Exactly a century ago, the University of Sydney started with three professors and 24 students. A few years later Melbourne University began with sixteen students. To-day there are over 30,000 students studying in nearly a dozen universities. There is a university even in Canberra with a population of only 18,000. A University of Technology was founded in New South Wales in 1948.

The State education departments are spending £A.30,000,000. The Federal Commonwealth is also spending about £A.18,000,000 on education. Out of this £A.14,000,000 is devoted to reconstruction training. There are some very good schools for physical education and child welfare. There are special schools for non-English speaking migrants. For this purpose over 3,000 scholarships are awarded by the Federal Government alone. The State Governments with the collaboration of the Federal Government are aiming at free education from the kindergarten to the university stage.

To my surprise, I found considerable interest in Pakistan in these schools. A Sydney State schoolboy of the sixth standard proudly announced before his class-mates that he was busy making a project on Pakistan. He wanted our flag to decorate his project. I gave him one. The girl students in the same school were busy with a programme for the relief of lepers in Pakistan. They knew all about this scourge. The average Australian student is definitely better informed of Asian countries than is the case in English schools.

I would recommend Pakistan educational authorities to study the Australian educational methods. Having the same problems—shortage of teachers, buildings, books and money—it will indeed solve some of our difficulties if we give a fair trial to Australian methods, particularly those of the wide range correspondence courses and the one-teacher schools.

Melbourne taught me some lessons on a theocratic pattern of life. While I have resisted prohibition by legislation in Karachi, I was faced with a partial prohibition in Melbourne. The bars and shops selling alcoholic drinks were required to close down by dusk. Sunday was a holiday more than in name. Most of the population remained indoors, even the children were not allowed to use parks and playfields. Theocracy so much dominated the Victorians of Melbourne that even secular newspapers were not only not allowed to be printed and published and issued in Melbourne on that day, but also no outside newspaper was permitted to sneak in.

CANBERRA OR NEW DELHI

Somehow or other I did not feel strange in Canberra, even though my entry was rather hectic, having raced through the two hundred mile road-distance from Sydney to be in time for the Jubilee Parade. It looked to me that the genii of Alladin's lamp had lifted up New Delhi and had placed it very carefully between New South Wales and Victoria, safe from all dangers and threats. The bungalows, the plannings for the secretariat buildings, the parks and trees and flowers in them, the roads and hillocks were all like those I had been used to seeing in New Delhi for over ten years. I had even the unfair suspicion that most of the buildings were erected by old Delhiwala P.W.D. men.

It has been very wisely decided to limit the population of Canberra to 26,000. It is planned to confine the population to the civil service, serving the Federal capital and a few necessary traders and hoteliers to provide the wherewithal of life for them. Unfortunately, New Delhi, planned three decades ago on similar lines, is now far too much out-grown. Canberra is peaceful, aloof, yet human and not in the least snobbish. Designed by an American, Walter Burley Griffin, to neutralize the outraged tempers of the two senior States of Australia, New South Wales and Victoria, Canberra has now decided to rest content with 900 square miles of land which emerges through trees and shrubs, belts of timber, multi-colour flowers, lawns and shrubberies, playing hide-and-seek through a jig-saw puzzle of 95 miles of roadway, driving away all traffic from the main residential areas and whipping them forward to follow a circle around a main hill. Foreign statesmen will find great peace and solace when visiting Canberra. It might very well become the future rest-resort of all over-strung statesmen of the world. Let U.N.O. arrange a meeting of its Big Three in Canberra. It might bring different results.

There can be no doubt as to the future importance of Canberra. Mr. P. C. Spender, Australia's internationalist, had predicted as far back as 1950 that "the birth of new members of the Commonwealth, Pakistan, Ceylon and the Republic of India, the creation of new national entities in the form of the Republic of Indonesia and the States of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in what had been previously known as French Indo-China, are developments which have helped to shift the centre of gravity of world affairs more and more to this area." Mr. Spender had advised his Government "to ensure to the fullest extent it could that these new States co-operated with each other and with Australia in meeting positively the new problems created in this area by the emergence of a Communist China and by the ever increasing thrust of communism which endeavoured

to ally itself in the pursuit of its ends with the national aspirations of millions of people of South-East Asia." I wished then and hope now that Australia would fully realize the soundness of Spender's advice. In any defence pact for the Pacific regions to ignore Pakistan, India, and Ceylon the three of the family, and Indonesia and even Burma, would be suicidal not only for Australia but for the whole of South-East Asia. If for nothing else, as one belonging to the Commonwealth, I would very much like Australia to be linked by ties of brotherhood with the rest of the Commonwealth, particularly with its Asian neighbours, Pakistan, Ceylon and India. Let it be for the sake of "common purpose and common endeavour." The rest of Australia is absolutely Asian in its physical geography and even the cultural traditions. Not only does the vegetation make one feel at home, the people's habits and modes of life strike one as similar to anywhere from Djakarta to Karachi.

WHITE-AUSTRALIA POLICY

When I was leaving for Australia, many friends had asked me to investigate the White-Australia policy regarding the new settlers. A number of people also wanted me to bring back information on aborigines, the original people of Australia. In my view the so-called White Australia policy is not in any way racial or based on colour consciousness. It is purely economic. The Australians having gone through the birth pangs of their nationhood do not want to be overrun by the crowded Asian nationalities. They had only recently admitted the Lebanese immigrants to their agricultural areas. The Lebanese are reputed to be very good agricultural labour. The Greeks, in spite of being Europeans, had till very recently found the door of entry closed to them. They also can now enter provided they are "picked" men and women. Among the new Australians, I found quite a large number of mixed races of Indians, Malayans, Cingales and others. There was no colour bar and social restriction against any Asian. The Australians are not at all colour conscious. They are also not either racially conscious or religiously prejudiced against the new settlers. Among the Lebanese a number were Muslims, who have even started building a small mosque near Sydney. I did come across some comments in conservative newspapers about their bad-manners but I also found that such comments were considered to be in very bad taste and not at all appreciated or encouraged. Those Australian girls who had married somewhat coloured New Australians were in no sense untouchables in the society. It is true that even this coloured population is European from the male parent.

side but political circles are looking forward to healthier changes in the policy regarding the new settlers.

Australia needs rapid developments in all walks of life. For these to bear fruit it is imperative that the present eight million population, one-tenth of that of Pakistan or Indonesia should multiply at least ten times. When I was there, the Australian leaders had bitterly complained to me about the policies of European countries, particularly Britain, in not allowing their best men and women to emigrate to Australia. They could not realize that European countries also needed their best types just as much as Australia. They started encouraging immigrants from poorer and backward European countries but got unskilled hands which increased their problems instead of easing them. They were forced almost by circumstances to open their doors to the Lebanese and Greeks. Australians think that a population of 20 million would be sufficient for their continent. They are mistaken. Australia would never be a great country unless the continent absorbed at least 80 million people. Maybe, she will not get more than 20 million Europeans. There is a considerable area in Australia which is not suitable to European immigrants because of her climatic conditions. This area would on the other hand suit some of the Asian races. The waterless, arid and even marshy lands would suit those Asians who have been living under same conditions at home. These lands in Australia could be scientifically developed and made habitable. The over-populated Asian countries would not mind seeking new opportunities in the Australian Continent, and thus lessen the burdens on their own economies.

There are already in Australia 9,144 Chinese, 2,480 Indians and Pakistanis, 157 Japanese, 580 Malayans, 5,332 Polynesians, 1,675 Syrians and 2,127 other Asians. While the Chinese, the Japanese and Malays have decreased by 1,772, 2,084 and 1,205 respectively since 1933, the Indians, the Pakistanis and the Polynesians and other Asians have increased by 783, 585 and 4,034 respectively. Among the so-called mixed population the Austro-Chinese were 2,950 according to the census of 1947. The same census gave other mixed race figures as: Austro-Indians and Pakistanis 418, the Austro-Japanese 56, the Austro-Polynesians 712, the Austro-Syrians 223 and the Austro-Asians 2,196. The Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Pakistanis since the partition of the Indian sub-continent have increased by thousands. It was estimated to me that the population of Asian-European mixed races would have reached at least 60,000 since the census of 1947. This is in any case an increase of at least 10,000 since 1933. As a result there are to-day at least 3,000 Muslims in Australia.

THE ABORIGINEES

The aborigines mostly live in the Central section of the northern half of Australia. There were also 11,000 Europeans living in the territory. Many Australians told me that the aborigines were a dying people. The aborigines whom I met in Sydney's Asian quarters denied this and claimed that they were a very much alive race to-day thanks to the Christian missionaries. They were now moving nearer to farms owned by graziers raising beef cattle, and even working in towns in docks and factories. There were also nearly 30,000 Austro-aboriginals which was an increase of 6,559 since 1933.

My first aboriginee acquaintance in Sydney worked in a lumber factory. He sadly told me that many of his race were still living in a world of their own, completely isolated from civilization. They have had no impact with the modern age. They were confined to reservations set aside for them. They were the people who were bound to die out under the rigours of the times. But there were also people like himself who had been saved by the powerful denominational missions, and were schooled, and taught trades. These would not only not die but had the prospects of developing like the negroes in the United States of America. He said that their battle for survival was actually fought by the Australian missionaries. He was an out-and-out optimist. When the dead past of 60,000 years could not finish them, they would not be destroyed in the future ages.

I thought it was in the interests of the white settlers themselves not to let the aboriginal race completely die out because of their new plans for developing and fully exploiting the Northern and Central territories. My aboriginee friend hoped that the Government would revise its policy before long, otherwise forces from within would compel them to live up to their own much boosted ideology of Christian democracy. He even believed that there might be in the near future an influx of Asian people into their territory. To my own reading it would be a good solution of the economic crisis Australasia has to face every now and then. The ancestors of these aborigines belonged to the same Dravidian race which lived in India and the Indonesian islands before the Aryans and the Arabs subjugated them. Defeated and driven away from their hearths and homes, these Dravidians literally hopped on to the Australasian continent through the Indonesian archipelago. Having lost all touch with their own highly advanced civilization of the pre-Aryan era, they continued to live in the stone-age civilization till about 164 years ago when Captain James Cook and Algernon Talmage forced them to gather together like herds of cattle and be localized in Central and Northern territories of marshy jungles and vast deserts. About one hundred years

ago, one William Dampier recorded of the aboriginal of the North-West coast: "The Hadmadods (Hottentots) of Monmotapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these." This has been challenged by later Australian historians who have observed that Hottentots, secluded at the Southern end of Africa, were primitive. But they had cattle and were far ahead of the aboriginal Australians in material wealth. The latter however were as advanced and rich in art and culture as the Dravidians of their contemporary age in India and Indonesian archipelago. The recent finds of their bark drawings prove this beyond any doubt. The subjects chosen were usually things connected with their own mode of life. For colours they used charcoal and coloured ocheries of sheep and dried bark.

A Government spokesman read to me from an official publication: "They have complete systems of tribal government, social organization and religious beliefs." The official historian Charles Barrett condemned the treatment meted to the aboriginals by early colonials. He has recorded that these people were "regarded by early colonials as being of the lowest intelligence and mere cumberers of the ground. They remained a despised people until the voices of those crying in the wilderness of indifference were heard and a better understanding of the aborigines spread among white Australians. Even their Government were slow to act effectively for their welfare and only in more recent years has more sincere and reasoned efforts been made to save the most interesting of all primitive races of man from the fate of the Tasmanian race which became extinct in 1876 with the death of a romantic figure, Princess Truganine." Barrett thinks that the "black fellow arrived in Australia perhaps more than 60,000 years ago." He estimates the population of aborigines as 300,000 when Captain Cook reached Botany Bay. The present total of full-blooded aborigines is less than 50,000 and for this decline of the race, the official spokesman was honest to admit: "we may well describe the decline of these primitive hardy people as a tragedy, for which we are largely, but not wholly, responsible." The official spokesman gave the aboriginal full credit for "his manners and customs, amusements and achievements at his daily life and his religious beliefs (which) reveals him as a deeply interesting human being, with both virtues and failings like all other men." The Australian Government to-day is very sympathetic to this race. Their approach may be slow but there is no doubt of the good intentions of the Australian Government of the day towards the aboriginee.

The foregoing lecture was delivered at a joint meeting of the Association and the Over-Seas League held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1. on Wednesday, 28th January, 1953:

The Rt. Hon. Sir LESLIE WILSON, GCSI, GCMG, GCIE, DSO, presided and said that his only justification for the honour of being in the chair was that he was for five years Governor of Bombay and some 20 years in Australia as Governor of Queensland. Papers such as these were very valuable to the British Empire.

POPULATION PROBLEMS

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. K. P. MURPHY (Public Relations Officer, Australia House) said that as an Australian he had thoroughly enjoyed Mr. Jafri's paper and he would thank him for the sentiments he had expressed towards his country. He assured Mr. Jafri that those sentiments were warmly reciprocated.

Towards the end of the paper Mr. Jafri said that the Australians considered that a population of 20 million would be sufficient for their continent; he thought that unwise and that Australia should aim at a population of 80 million. The fact was that Australians would very much like a population exceeding 20 million but the continent was not capable of supporting anything like 80 million. One heard about the vastness of Australia, of the 3 million square miles which made her almost the size of the United States and 32 times the size of Great Britain, but little was heard of the paucity of the rainfall, 57 per cent of the country had a rainfall not exceeding 15 ins. a year. More than one million square miles, had a rainfall of less than 10 ins. a year, and a huge area of 600,000 square miles, one-fifth of the continent, had no rainfall worth talking about and was uninhabitable. It was in the light of these hard unyielding physical facts that Australians set themselves the realistic population target of 20 to 25 million people.

The Australian had won for himself a high standard of living and insisted that this was the birthright not only of the native-born Australian but of every migrant. The figure of from 20 to 25 million as the country's population-carrying capacity was based on the maintenance of present living standards. The rainfall figures did help to counter the accusation which was often made that 8½ million Australians had adopted a dog in the manger attitude of preventing other people from occupying areas which they themselves were unwilling to develop. Australians were, in fact, the victims of the exigencies of geography. It was not their fault that 40 per cent of the country lay in the arid latitudes between summer and winter rain areas. The noted geographer, Professor Griffith Taylor, had said that if Australia could be moved 10 degrees (that is, 700 miles) to the south, she would then be right in the path of the Antarctic lows and would resemble the United States in her vast areas of well-watered agricultural lands. While Australia had vast hydro-electric works in

train, she had not yet, unhappily, been able to devise a feasible plan for moving the continent 700 miles southward!

He was delighted to learn that Mr. Jafri liked Canberra but in fairness to the States of New South Wales and Victoria he had to point out that the designing of Canberra by an American was not intended to damp down inter-state jealousies, although he did not deny that they existed. Walter Burley Griffin was given the job because his design for the new capital won first prize in a world-wide competition.

Regarding Mr. Jafri's reference to the strict sabbatarianism of Melbourne, he thought that he must have visited Melbourne on a cold or wet Sunday if he could find no children in the parks and playgrounds. Sunday in Melbourne, as in other Australian cities, was an out-of-doors day and, after church services, people made for the beaches, the hills, the parks and the playgrounds.

THE ABORIGINES

The welfare of the aborigines to whom Mr. Jafri had referred was the active concern of both Commonwealth and State Governments and a Native Welfare Council was recently established in Canberra. The Council, which was composed of the Ministers of the Commonwealth and the States concerned with the welfare of the aborigines, was working on the principle that all persons born in Australia must enjoy full citizenship. The objective of its native education policy was to bring all aborigines to the level at which they could enjoy full citizenship as part of the Australian community. It was also operating on the principle that aborigines had the right to the same conditions of work as all Australians and to full membership of the trade unions and professional associations.

Mr. JAFRI thanked Mr. Murphy for his remarks, but did not agree with him entirely. He knew about the inadequate rainfall and that was why he suggested that there should be co-operation with other nations who had the same problems. The population of Karachi was now 1,300,000 and 30 years ago it was a desert. There was much one could do about water, sea water could be brought in and distilled. Atomic energy could be used to develop Australia's desert into fertile land.

Mr. H. JOUBERT said that Mr. Jafri referred to the amazing development in the population of Karachi from 300,000 to 1,300,000 in five years, he also mentioned that he felt that in some years' time Karachi would become

the Sydney of Pakistan, that it would develop very much on the same lines as Sydney. What was the present population of Sydney?

Mr. MURPHY: It is approaching 1½ million.

Mr. JOUBERT said that to him fell the very pleasant duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the speaker. The meeting had been extremely fortunate in having Sir Leslie Wilson as Chairman. He was a most successful and popular Governor of Bombay, and later of Queensland.

Mr. Jafri was Editor of one of the great newspapers of India before partition and was now Editor of one of the two greatest newspapers of Pakistan so that he was a well qualified observer. Most people knew a good deal about the power of the Press, and he was sure that Mr. Jafri exercised that power on the lines of the very able address he had given. He had spoken of the relations between Australia and Pakistan which those who had served in Pakistan had had the opportunity of observing at close quarters. In 1950 the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on Australia Day gave one of the most happy speeches which he had ever heard.

Some Reflections of a Medical Scientist on India

A SOCIAL GATHERING for about 40 medical students from India was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies on Friday, February 27, when Sir Edward Mellanby, GBE, FRS, was the speaker and was accompanied by Lady Mellanby.

Colonel PASRICHA, late I.M.S., Medical Adviser to the High Commission for India in London, introduced Sir Edward who, he said, at the invitation of the Indian Government, was recently for a short period first Director of the Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow. He asked Sir Edward to give the students some of the impressions he had gathered during his stay in India.

Sir EDWARD MELLANBY outlined the origin of the Central Drug Research Institute and described its mixed staff of scientific workers covering chemistry, biochemistry, pharmacology, microbiology and medicine. The object of the Institute was the discovery of drugs for the alleviation, cure and prevention of disease. It was housed in the Chattar Manzil palace at Lucknow, and had well equipped laboratories. It formed one of a large network of research institutes of applied science which covered the country, and which were proof that the Indian Government was alive to the importance and necessity of research in science, including medical science, an awareness which was in no small measure due to the interest and untiring efforts of the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, while the actual driving force was Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, FRS, director of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

The speaker emphasized the influence of biological laws on the life of any country, particularly that of India, where the enormous wastage in human life and efficiency, and the toll taken of animal life and natural wealth by disease and insect pests, were retarding economic development. Two main biological problems facing the Government were to increase agricultural production and relate population to food supplies. Disease-carrying insects were responsible for 1½ million deaths annually, and it was said that insect damage was responsible for the loss of crops, timber and animal products to the annual value of £150,000,000. An increase of irrigation, both local and large scale; checking of soil erosion and reclamation of eroded areas; more intensive farming and the greater use of fertilizers (natural and artificial) were also some of the essential needs for greatly increased food supplies.

FAMILY PLANNING

On the question of controlling the growth of population and raising the expectation of life, which at birth was only about 30 years, Sir Edward said that planned parenthood was essential. In recent years there had been much disagreement on the introduction of such a revolutionary policy, but the Government were fully cognizant of the problem and there had, in the last year, been a complete reversal of the former official opposition. It had been said that family planning would take many years to establish in India, but Western experience had shown that it might be more quickly adopted than anticipated. That it could be one of the most potent factors in the economic and social life of a country had been proved in the United Kingdom during the last 40 years. The fact that the general effect of the more intense application of medical

science would be to raise the rate of increase of the population only made the question of birth control even more urgent.

India had many fine characteristics—a high standard of justice, a good constitutional system, political freedom and many good social customs, but these were not enough in themselves. The standard of life of the inhabitants would remain subnormal unless biological phenomena were effectively studied and the teachings were vigorously applied to human and animal problems and directed to the welfare of the people. With the proper co-ordination of research and the application of the results obtained, the population would be healthier, more efficient and longer-lived; agriculture would be increased and the food problem greatly reduced. But these measures must come from within the machinery of the Government. Knowledge of the methods and potentialities of science must become part of the equipment of all political and social leaders so that its teachings could be actively applied where they were most needed. Without this outlook there could be no true judgment of values in national policy, and no sound direction of strategy in large national issues.

There were vast opportunities for medical and scientific research in India, and a great need for the application of the knowledge gained, hence Sir Edward hoped that some of the students present would enter the more satisfying if less remunerative field of investigation, and by thus dedicating themselves to the service of the community, solve some of the biological problems which to-day faced their country and so play an important and glorious part in making India truly great.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, Chairman of the Association, thanked Sir Edward on behalf of all those present for his very interesting and instructive address, and hoped that his words would direct some of the students present to choose research as a future career.

END OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

Pakistan To-day and To-morrow*

By H. E. Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PAKISTAN

I AM GRATEFUL to the organizers of this meeting for giving me an opportunity of addressing the members of the Inns of Court Students' Union. I have come here with a mixed feeling of nostalgia and happiness, as in January, 1924, I had the privilege of being called to the Bar from the Inner Temple. It is comforting, therefore, to meet the children of my contemporaries in much the same surroundings in which I spent my pleasant student days, and to renew through them an acquaintance with some old colleagues of the happy past. You, gentlemen, and specially those of you who come from Pakistan, India and the neighbouring regions have a great responsibility to shoulder. You are the future builders of the nations in our region. Your primary task, therefore, is to complete your studies and fit yourselves for the responsibility that awaits you. On your return to your own homes you should find yourselves so equipped with all that is required as to enable you to give of your best to your country. Men of my generation look to you to do better than we and our predecessors have been able to do. I know you will take full advantage of the opportunities afforded you as students. I also know that you will remember that the health, happiness, strength and prosperity of your countries lie in your hands. I am hopeful of the future and I am sanguine that you will uphold the great traditions of the Inns of Court to which you belong, at all times and in whatever capacity you may be called upon to serve your respective countries.

You have invited me into your midst as a representative of a country which is resolved to uphold democracy and liberty. These were the principles we upheld in the struggle for independence. Much can be said on this subject and my main theme of Pakistan's progress and problems. But, the time at my disposal is limited. I can only confine myself to a brief outline of the major landmarks.

Pakistan, as you are aware, joined the comity of nations as an independent sovereign state on the 14th August, 1947. Everything shows that Pakistan was a natural consequence of historical development.

The partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, on the grounds of economic and cultural necessity, brought in its wake, the rise of a state wholly democratic in outlook. A state sustained and guided by the eternal

* Address to Inns of Court Students Union, 12th February, 1953.

principles of democracy, freedom, equality and social justice. In our view social justice is based on those fundamental laws and concepts which assure to every man a life free from want and rich in freedom. Our constitution, which is being framed, will place the fullest emphasis on the principles that I have just outlined to you. You will have read in the newspapers that our Prime Minister presented the Basic Principles Committee Report to the Constituent Assembly in December last as the framework of our new Constitution. The actual debate in the Constituent Assembly on this Report, by the chosen representatives of the people, has been postponed for another month or so. The purpose of this postponement has been to give our representatives and our people ample opportunity to study the report. This, to my mind, is a commendable thing because the drawing up of constitution, as you all know, is a serious matter which affects the life of the people for generations to come. The delay only shows how earnest the people are to ensure that our Constitution when promulgated will be as sound as it is humanly possible to make it. In its present form the Basic Principles Committee's Report has in the opinion of very many people much room for improvement and amendment. Much discussion and debate is taking place outside the House, and the aim is to so improve it as to meet the requirements of a constitution which is fully consonant with the life and needs of the twentieth century. It is the general wish to devise the most democratic constitution—a constitution of the people, by the people and for the people. It is in the fitness of things that it should be so; for Pakistan came into being not because of any particular individual, or group, or a set of people desiring its creation; but because the whole mass of the Muslim population demanded a political and geographical expression of their will. It was a mass movement of a people welded together and inspired by a common culture and a common heritage.

I do not think I should speak at length about the Basic Principles Committee's Report at this stage. Meanwhile, I can say that the collective wisdom of our people will evolve a constitution which in the widest and noblest sense will be in accord with the fundamental and basic principles of Islamic fraternity, equality and democracy.

Though Pakistan is comparatively a new state, our civilization dates back many centuries. Our culture and our civilization have often come into direct contact with that of the West and each has influenced the other in more ways than one. I need not, of course, dilate on the close association between the peoples of Britain and Pakistan in the last one hundred and fifty years which happily continues, but now as between two sovereign states. Centuries ago, Pakistan had close relations with many countries of the world, particularly of the Middle and the Far East. These relations,

as you know, are being revived to-day for the good of all. Pakistan, therefore, derives its present strength and character not only from the ideology of Islam, which came to it over thirteen centuries ago, but also from many older ideas and achievements of the pre-Islamic civilization. It is in the light of this background that one has to consider Pakistan of to-day and our hopes for the future. It is, however, one of the ironies of history that Muslims, who introduced the era of learning in Asia and Europe, are suffering to-day from general educational backwardness. Yet, we have not forgotten our universities of Cordova, Seville and Baghdad. The spirit of cultural renaissance which is revitalizing us and other Asian nations to-day has brought a new hope for the future. But we are a poor and comparatively economically backward people who, a mere five and a half years ago, emerged from a long period of inertia to the exhilaration of freedom. The progress and advancement in the world in recent centuries did not touch us. The bulk of our resources remained untapped. Our capacities have not been used and our genius have remained inactive. We have now come out of our torpor and with our reserves of untapped resources we have to find ways and means of raising the living standards of our people, who for many years have lived in sub-human conditions. The removal of poverty and raising the standard of living of our people can only be achieved by a more balanced economy than we at present enjoy. Our task is so gigantic that it cannot be accomplished by one generation alone. We have also to strive to maintain peace, along with the rest of the world and persuade those whose power is great and influential to use their wisdom in ridding mankind of the fear of war. Our objective is progress and peace. As you know, the peace of the world rests in the hands of the big and powerful nations. We know these nations desire peace to enjoy the fruits of their civilizations which they have built up with their energy and their enterprise. But, we desire peace even more to introduce the benefits of economically advanced countries to places where freedom, until a few years ago, was only a wish and a longing. We have to build a future where our people can have a better standard of life and enjoy the benefits of the scientific and technological advance of the West.

A nation's present and future stability is linked to two factors—the will and the determination of its people to make sacrifices for the common good and its economic stability. We, in Pakistan, have grasped the import of these two requirements. Every new mill, every new factory, every modern farm, every new school and hospital represents another step forward on the road to economic stability and the prosperity of our people.

Our economy is mainly agricultural but we are aware that the basis of real economic strength and prosperity is industrial progress. We have

the necessary facilities for advancing our industrial economies. We are rich in valuable raw material resources. We possess a wide range of minerals and metals. We have all the manpower we need. Pakistan also has a high potential for the development of hydro-electric power. Within the limit of our capacities we are endeavouring to harness all these resources for the industrial development of our country. But, we cannot by our own efforts alone secure that degree of development which is needed. We need the assistance of the more fortunate and highly industrialized countries in the form of technical assistance and capital goods. The goodwill of friendly nations, has made it possible for an increasing number of our people to go abroad for advanced technical training. We are fully aware of the value of outside assistance. The Commonwealth countries under the Colombo Plan, and the United States Technical Co-operation and Administration Plans are helping us. Large sums are involved but they are not enough. The underdeveloped countries of Asia, if given the aid, financial and technical, they need, can become the finest and surest bastions of democracy. But essentially our development and progress are matters of "Self-help." We know the causes of our general backwardness. We are now embarking on our long and difficult journey to full development so that we may achieve our objective at the earliest possible date, largely by our own efforts and by the sweat of our own brow. We, in Pakistan, are resolved to make up for lost centuries as soon as we can. To-day, despite its present economic difficulties, Pakistan remains one of the stablest democracies in Asia. The years of independence have witnessed a steady growth and consolidation of the country's economy in all spheres. Unfortunately, the set-back which all the producers of primary products of the world have suffered in the past eight or ten months has not left us unaffected. With the decline in the price of our foreign exchange earning raw materials, and the sluggish demand for them, our income has fallen substantially. This, in turn, has necessitated our going ahead much more slowly than we would have done had the bright and cheerful conditions of the years preceding the present slump continued. We are, however, doing our utmost to prevent the slowing down of the wheels of our development. I expect that the policy of other countries, especially in the Commonwealth of Nations, is not much different, if different at all, from the policy which we are pursuing. Australia or Argentina, Burma or Brazil, India or Indonesia, Pakistan or Ceylon have all had to trim their sails in the face of heavy reduction of their revenues; the slowing down of their prosperity which will perhaps affect adversely some of their essential developmental programmes. A nation striving for a sound financial position has no alternative but to keep its programmes of development

in line with its revenue. It is in times such as these that underdeveloped countries, like Pakistan, should receive increased assistance from more advanced and fortunate countries, so that their pace of development may continue unabated. However, the present difficulties are only a passing phase. Basically, as I have already said, our economy is sound and within the limit of our capacity we are taking important steps to further strengthen our finance and economy.

In order to quicken the pace of development an Industrial Development Corporation has been set up. The aim of this corporation is to sponsor certain industries essential to the country's economy such as textiles, paper, engineering, chemicals, fertilizers, sugar and cement. This and other steps taken to encourage the establishment of new industries are bearing fruit. To-day we have 29 cotton textile mills. A paper mill is under construction and two more are on order. Three thousand out of the six thousand jute looms provided for in the Six Year Development Plan are being set up. A Fertilizer Plant will be installed soon. The Government of Canada has given us a Cement Factory under the Colombo Plan. More projects, such as Wollen Mills, Sugar Mills, ship-building, and many others are well in hand. You will notice therefore that the economy of Pakistan is basically sound: that a fair amount has been accomplished in a relatively short time. There are thus good grounds for faith in the future of Pakistan.

We are being guided by a system of life whose social, moral and economic code gives us a complete set of values. But we cannot secure the practical benefits of our ideology unless we have educated our people; relieved them from the fear of disease, famine and poverty; unless we have saved them from the menace of malaria, cholera, tuberculosis and other fatal and serious diseases. It is, therefore, incumbent on us to lead a crusade against illiteracy and disease. The moral and intellectual fibre of a nation can best be judged by the education of its people. The standard of culture and civilization is set by educational institutions and their influence permeates the very core of life and gives tone to it. To make real, speedy and substantial progress we are endeavouring to bring our education policy and programme on lines best suited to the genius of our people. They are of course consonant with our history and culture and have regard to modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. The close connexion between the character of a society and the character of education cannot be too strongly stressed. Schools and colleges are not separated from the social order to which they belong. The true spirit of democracy consists of this—that all children should be given, by the state, an equal opportunity of developing their talents and realizing the best that is in them. In

Pakistan we have introduced free and compulsory primary education for a period of five years. Varying parts of the country naturally need varying periods of time. Education has been given top priority. Thousands of primary and secondary schools have been opened all over the country. A network of teachers training schools, village uplift, adult literacy centres and women's industrial and welfare homes are being set up in the Provinces of Pakistan. Technical schools, Research Institutions and Engineering colleges are being established as well. Five universities have already been established. Women's education is the crying need of our country. The evils of ill-health, illiteracy and infantile mortality were all off-shoots of this main problem of their backwardness. Most of our social evils have their roots in the past. We must now do our utmost to come out of the shadows of the preceding centuries. Although to-day, a large number of women in our country have been fully emancipated that is far from enough. We are now striving towards securing for every woman in our society equal opportunities with men. In the great task of building our nation and maintaining its solidarity our women have a most valuable part to play as they are the true guardians of our nation and our generations to come.

We are a young nation and I think I have said enough to show that we are a vigorous nation. We want to go ahead. We want a better life. Our aim has always been to work in close harmony with our friends and to extend the existing friendly relations. We believe in democracy, in the maximum possible freedom for the individual. We also believe in absolute equality between man and man before the law, in tolerance and in social justice. We do not believe in the barriers of race, colour, creed or the caste system. Totalitarianism, or any compulsion on matters of religion or culture is foreign to our ideology. We do not believe in a capitalist system of society, nor do we believe in the materialist doctrines of Communism. We believe instead, in the Islamic concept of social justice which, while it encourages private enterprise and recognizes the right of private property, deprecates large accumulations of unearned incomes. Our concept enjoins the levelling down of marked inequalities of wealth. Above all, we believe in peace. To us these principles are much more than a political testament. They are articles of our faith. It is these principles which we endeavour to project in our relations with other countries. In the international field we continue to strive for peace, for the obliteration of artificial distinctions that divide man from man; for securing self government, as their national democratic right, for the peoples still under domination and for the progressive removal of the potential threats to peace and political stability in Asia.

Pakistan's geographical location gives it a special strategic significance, West Pakistan rubs shoulders with the Middle East and borders on that region surrounding the Persian Gulf where the greatest oil reserves are situated. East Pakistan borders on Burma and has a vital interest in the problems affecting the countries in South-east Asia. This simple geographical fact gives Pakistan special responsibilities in the international sphere. This fact also has a bearing on its foreign relations. In its own interest and also in the interest of peace on the sub-continent, Pakistan must be militarily, politically, and economically strong. Geographical contiguity and identity of economic interest and also our cultural affinities tend naturally to draw us closer to the Middle East and to the Muslim world in general. We seek closer relations with Muslim countries, not with the object of establishing a rival power bloc but in the hope that we might thereby help to strengthen the forces of democracy and peace. There is nothing strange about this trend in our foreign relations. The same desire to collaborate in pursuit of common interest inspires and holds the members of the Commonwealth together. The emergence of the Council of Europe and its constituent bodies shows the same tendency among the countries of Western Europe. But we are by no means limiting our efforts at friendly collaboration in the international field to Muslim countries only. We seek closer relations with all friendly powers, be they inside the Commonwealth or outside it.

In recent weeks the press of our nearest neighbour has waxed high on Pakistan joining the Middle Eastern Defence Pact. Frankly, I do not profess to know how they came to allege this. The correct position is, that Pakistan has not been invited to join. But, should it be so, Pakistan has the undisputed right as an independent sovereign state to decide for itself how or where its interests can best be served. Pakistan reserves the right to consider each case on its merits and in the light of peace and its own interests.

Both Britain and Pakistan belong to the Commonwealth of Nations. In the uneasy world of to-day, such a large group of sovereign nations as comprise the Commonwealth with so much identity in their declared aims is a heartening spectacle to mankind. No practical person would wantonly wish for its disintegration. If the Commonwealth does nothing more than give the world a lead in establishing the brotherhood of man, it will still have made a notable contribution to the cause of human welfare. The Commonwealth has great opportunities for raising the hopes of mankind by outlawing the use of coercion and force as a method of settling disputes among its own members. I sincerely believe that in this way this free association of free nations can set the world an inspiring example. Pakistan is a peace-loving nation and stands by accepted methods of

peaceful settlement of all disputes. These methods are only three, conciliation or mediation and failing that, arbitration. These are the methods of peaceful settlement of international disputes. We welcome any effective measures that can be devised to give concrete shape to our sincere desire for an early and just settlement of all disputes that, unfortunately, exist between India and Pakistan both of whom are in the Commonwealth. The chief dispute, as you all know, between our two countries is Kashmir. Since the dispute began, Pakistan has done everything possible to come to an amicable settlement with India. Every proposal put forward by the United Nations representative and others in the Commonwealth for a just settlement has been accepted by Pakistan and rejected by the other side. We feel that the Commonwealth can play a much bigger part in an early and fair solution of the dispute. The United Nations also can play an even more significant role in the resolving of the problem which must not be delayed much longer or shelved on the ground of expediency. We earnestly hope that something concrete will emerge from the discussions which are being held at Geneva between the United Nations representative and the representatives of Pakistan and India. A just and fair solution now, without further delay, will solve a host of other problems between these two countries and permit them to co-operate fully in economic and other fields and thus improve the lot of the common man. In my view, therefore, the Commonwealth has limitless possibilities as a co-operative force making for peace and orderly progress in a world harassed by mutual distrust and jealousies.

Israel in World Politics

By H.E. ELIAHU ELATH

ISRAEL AMBASSADOR IN LONDON

LOOKING BACK TO-DAY over the four years of Israel's statehood, I think one can say that the story of her political and diplomatic development and indeed that of the State as a whole is one of steady progress. In one sphere only—unfortunately, it is the important one of relations with our Arab neighbours—is there practically no advance at all to record.

Israel's emergence as a free and independent State was the result of many years' gradual development of the Jewish community in Palestine.

before—and especially during—the Mandate. In those years, we were building up a society based on national consciousness—a society whose institutions served both to educate our people in the application of democratic principles of self-government, and to show how these could be implemented in the everyday life of the community itself and in its relations with the outside world.

The recognition given by the Mandatory Administration to the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the *Va'ad Leumi* (the National Council of Palestine Jews) made it easier for the Jewish community in Palestine to shape the nucleus of what has since become the Administrative and Parliamentary framework of the State set up on May 14, 1948. The fact that Article 4 of the Mandate recognized the special status of the Jewish Agency as an advisory body to the Government of Palestine, permitted the Agency to exercise a number of political functions, which provided its members with training in the political and diplomatic fields, and with experience in conducting relations with the British Administration in Palestine, with the British Government in London, and also with the authorities of other countries and of international organizations with which the *Yishuv* had, in one way or another, some connexion.

VALUE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

The fact that Palestine was almost a permanent item on the Agenda of the League of Nations, and other international bodies, further imposed on the Agency continuous activities in the international arena; the maintenance of a permanent office in Geneva, for contacts with the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, both enlarged the scope of our international contacts and experiences and provided valuable training for members of its staff.

The international character of the Jewish National Home and of the Mandatory Regime, and our constant struggle to defend our rights under the Mandate, thus served to develop political instruments and the men who were eventually to use them in the successor State. So, for instance, the little group of men who constituted the Agency's Political Department, in Jerusalem and in London, also laid the foundations of what is now the Israel Foreign Service: Mr. Sharett, our present Minister for Foreign Affairs, was for fourteen years in charge of the Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem; and many of our present high officials and diplomatic representatives abroad had the privilege of serving under him in that Department before the establishment of the State.

It is only proper that I should here pay tribute to Dr. Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist Movement and of the Zionist Organization—for it

was he who first gave practical expression to the international character of the Jewish problem, and to the prospect of solving it through an international settlement providing for the establishment of an independent, sovereign, Jewish State in Palestine. Herzl's vision has proved a most important factor in developing the "international-mindedness" of the Zionist movement generally, and of the men who, from the earliest days of the movement, were laying the foundations of Jewish statehood in Palestine. The tradition so established was further enriched by the years of devoted work of the late President Weizmann, who has left to his successors a noble example of a truly internationally minded statesman, to inspire the political and diplomatic life of our young State.

I have thought it useful to begin with this brief historical *aperçu* in order to show that Israel's foreign policy has to be seen, not merely as the product of our four years statehood, but as part of a much longer, continuous process. Like much else in Israel to-day, its roots lie deep in our past, and its main features derive not only from the Party convictions of one or another Government, but much more from certain basic elements in the life of our people and of our country. In short, it seeks to be a true reflection of our society in its relations with the outside world—to project into the international sphere the fundamental attitudes and beliefs which govern the conduct of our people's life in all its aspects.

CONSTRUCTIVE TASKS AHEAD

Israel is a parliamentary democracy on the Western pattern, with freely-elected institutions of government and liberty of speech, assembly and worship. We are a peace-loving people, with no ambitions for territorial expansion or desire for aggrandizement. In almost every field of our daily life—social, cultural and economic—we are faced with tremendous problems such as must fully absorb our energies for many years to come. To these problems, my Government is trying to direct the attention of its people, and especially of the younger generation, so that they may concentrate their energies on the great constructive tasks which still remain to be done before this ancient land of ours can hope to regain the vigour and prosperity of its past. This aim, and our determination to defend our liberty and independence against aggression from whatever quarter, together constitute the twin driving forces of Israel's democracy.

It is, therefore, natural and inevitable that Israel should align herself, on most major issues of world politics, with all nations which seek peace and freedom. It should be realized, however, that Israel does not support

one or another policy in international affairs merely because it is sponsored by countries with similar forms of Government to her own, but rather because she judges any given policy to be right on its merits and to reflect her own concepts of law and justice. When Israel's views have differed from those of other friendly countries, she has never hesitated to give full—and on occasion forcible—expression to them, and to explain precisely why she holds them.

GUIDING PRINCIPLE

There have been occasions when Israel's line in international forums could be described as one of "non-identification." But our "non-identification" never amounted to anything like neutrality in world affairs as a political philosophy or an end in itself. Small—insignificant even—as she may look beside the major Powers, Israel has always (and especially since her admission to the United Nations) realized that her responsibilities were not limited to the defence of her own interests, but extended also to playing her appropriate part in the world community of which she has been privileged to become a member. Never, since her admission to the United Nations in May, 1949, has Israel sought to shirk any of the commitments which a positive and constructive policy imposes on its supporters.

So there could be no question, once Israel was a member of the United Nations, of her taking the line of consistent abstention from voting on issues of vital importance. It would clearly have been impossible for her to enter the United Nations on terms of this kind—namely with the idea of having mental reservations on every problem of real significance in the international field. That would have meant joining the community of nations under false pretences, and would have been wholly out of keeping with Israel's sense of duty, history and self-interest. The guiding principle of Israel's foreign policy may, I think, be briefly stated as follows:

First and foremost, to co-operate in preserving peace and security in the world, and to help in establishing conditions favourable to international co-operation between all countries, irrespective of their political systems, who are interested in co-existing together freely and normally, respecting each other's integrity, international obligations, and the Charter of the United Nations.

On the basis of this main principle, Israel is prepared to advocate, on their merits, the implementation of one policy or another, as occasion may appear to demand, and to defend her position against criticism from whatever quarter it may arise. In accordance with this attitude, for

instance, she recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China at about the same time when it was recognized by a number of Asiatic countries, and by Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland and Holland. But she had, none the less, no hesitation at all in supporting United Nations action in Korea, which culminated in the condemnation of the Chinese People's Government for aggression in that theatre of war.

THE ARAB STATES

After four years of statehood, Israel finds herself widely recognized. The only countries which have failed to recognize her are the Arab States, and one or two countries—like Pakistan, Afghanistan and Abyssinia—which lie on the periphery of the Arab world. Some twenty-four countries have diplomatic representatives in Israel, and Israel maintains diplomatic Missions in thirty foreign capitals. There is, of course, much wider consular representation both of foreign countries in Israel and of Israel abroad.

We have been, and are, of course, especially anxious to strengthen our relations with those neighbouring and Asian countries which have recognized us. Our Mission in Ankara was one of the first to be established, and our relations with Turkey have been steadily developing ever since. Quite recently, we opened a Legation in Tokyo. In fact, the only serious gap in Israel's international relations, and her main source of political embarrassment, is that represented by the Arab States.

The Arab States did everything in their power to prevent Israel from being born; failing in this, they sought to destroy her in infancy. Their efforts brought them only a severe military setback, which left them no alternative but to conclude Armistice Agreements with Israel in 1949. These Armistice Agreements still govern the relations—so far as relations may be said to exist at all—between Israel and her Arab neighbours.

In fact, the Armistice Agreements are really more serious instruments than that name normally implies. The Demarcation Lines they define are not only lines separating armies in the field; they represent the agreed limits of the jurisdiction of the respective parties, and have thus assumed the character of political frontiers. The Agreements contain provisions to the effect that they may be superseded only by new accords reached by mutual agreement between the parties. They have been ratified by the Security Council, and have thus the weight of international authority behind them.

Not only have all the Arab countries consistently refused to make, or even to discuss, peace with Israel; they have opposed her advance on every

front, and have sought to embarrass her politically and economically wherever they could. They have fought her admission to international organizations of every kind; they have done their utmost to exclude her from regional arrangements (for instance, from the bodies engaged in fighting malaria and locusts in the Middle East), and in the General Assembly of the United Nations, they have on occasion withheld their support from resolutions with which they were in entire agreement solely because those resolutions were sponsored by Israel.

Throughout, their attitude has been vindictive. It looks as if the entire bloc of the Arab States (six of them members of the United Nations), with their 2·2 million square miles of territory for their 42,000,000 people, are united in grudging Israel her 8,000 square miles for her population of one and threequarter millions.

The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine has been at work since 1948 to try and build some bridge between a willing Israel and an unco-operative Arab world, but for all its sincere devotion to this important task, it has so far failed to register much success. The last General Assembly session provided perhaps the most striking instance of Arab non-co-operation: the majority of the members of the Assembly's Political Committee passed a resolution in favour of the opening of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States, without prejudice to any future settlement which might be agreed upon by the parties concerned. The Arab States refused to accept this resolution, and did everything in their power to prevent its obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority in the Assembly.

We have been much gratified by the consistent support accorded by the United Kingdom Delegation to the Assembly to the principle of direct negotiations, which would contribute so much, not only to the welfare of Israel and the Arab countries, but also to the peace and security of this vitally important strategic area.

Our failure to make any progress towards direct negotiations with the Arabs makes the increasing rate of Arab rearmament a matter of immediate and vital practical concern for us. It becomes even more serious in the light of the militant campaign against Israel—similarly on the increase—in which many Arab leaders are constantly indulging. We are convinced that, until peace is firmly established between Israel and the Arab States, anything in the nature of an arms-race in the Middle East can only jeopardize the security of the entire area, injure whatever prospects there may be of Israel-Arab understanding, and prejudice rather than advance the cause of effective regional defence against any outside aggressor. It is also our sincere belief that the only way to protect this vital area against the social and economic unrest which

provides the breeding-ground for political instability, is to raise the general living-standards of the population.

In spite of Arab opposition, Israel has been steadily extending her interest and her activities in the international field, and has been playing an active, if modest, part in organizations such as the World Health Organization, the International Labour Office, the F.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., and others. She has strengthened her international position by pacts and treaties, including commercial agreements with Holland, Turkey, Finland, Yugoslavia, Poland, Argentina, Norway and Uruguay, and Air Agreements with Great Britain, the United States, Turkey, Holland, the Philippines, France and Switzerland. She has become a party to some thirty multilateral conventions—from the Geneva Red Cross Conventions and the International Wheat Agreement to the Convention on Economic Statistics and the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property. More recently, she has negotiated the important Reparations Agreement with Western Germany.

In all the international organs in which she has been co-operating, Israel has been seeking, not without some measure of success, to fulfil her obligations as a member of the world community, strengthening so far as she can both international organization and the rule of the Law of Nations.

THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

In recent weeks our international relations have suffered from an organized and deliberate attack on our State and its ideological foundations. The Prague Trials contained open attacks on Israel and Zionism, and, by stressing the Jewish origin of most of the accused, gave an anti-semitic slant to the whole proceedings. Before the dust had settled from these events in Prague, the Jewish people the world over suffered an even graver shock from a fresh attack delivered from Moscow. In the accusations against the arrested physicians there appear similar references to their "Jewish" and "Zionist" character.

But writing purely for myself, and as a Jew, I cannot help remembering that August Bebel once called anti-semitism "the socialism of fools." To him, and to the civilized people of that Liberal age, anti-semitism looked like some anomalous survival of the superstitions and obscurantism of the past—such as was then the Czarist regime in Russia—cynically resolved to find in the Jews a scapegoat for their own misdeeds. Yet in Bebel's own country, less than half-a-century later, Hitler was to give a new and sinister meaning to anti-semitism, transcending, in most brutal and vicious form, the worst excesses of the Middle Ages. We of our

generation have seen six millions of our people fall victims to deliberate collective massacre. Is it surprising that we feel deep concern when once again the Jewish origin of persons accused of serious crimes is deliberately underlined by the official prosecution? What does it mean, in terms of civil and religious rights, and personal safety, for the two-and-a-half million Jews still living in the Soviet Union and in the Peoples' Democracies? This is a question which calls urgently for a clear answer—if international morality and the rule of law under the Charter of the United Nations still have any meaning.

As an Israeli, I know that my people and my Government have no desire whatever to interfere in the domestic affairs of any other country. As a Jew, I have never had a shadow of doubt of the complete loyalty of Jewish citizens of the people's democracies, as of Jewish citizens elsewhere, to the lands of their adoption. I know that, wherever Jews are attacked and persecuted because of one thing only—their Jewishness—it is our duty to help to the limit of our power. I know that my fellow-countrymen will feel that, whatever the difficulties they already have to face, they have not fulfilled their duty unless their doors remain open to all their persecuted brethren. For this was Israel created, and, in the future as in the past, I know, from my own personal feelings, that she will spend her last ounce of strength to fulfil her duty and her destiny.

In conclusion, may I remind you that four years is a very brief span in the life of a nation. What we have managed to achieve, as well as the lessons we have had to learn, through trial and error, in those four years, gives us confidence to continue, with faith in our future, and determination to protect our own legitimate interests, and to help, so far as in us lies, to preserve and maintain the peace and freedom of the world, which alone can ensure the progress and prosperity of any of its peoples.

Reforms in Vietnam

By A CORRESPONDENT

THE NEW GOVERNMENT of Vietnam, under the leadership of Mr. Nguyen Van Tam, has, since its advent to power in June, 1952, caused the young state of Vietnam to make appreciable progress. Mr. Tam's first care has been to prepare a proper budget, which would enable his own taxpayers, and international circles as well, to form an idea of the financial

situation of the country and of its war effort. One of the features of this budget is that the sum devoted to the development of the nation's Army has risen from 860 to 1,750 millions of piastres.* Non-military expenditure is chiefly concerned with social progress: under it come the pacification of areas either reconquered or which have rejoined the State; social services and education. If one takes the sum total, inclusive of the French contribution to the Vietnamese Army (3 milliards) and American economic aid (400 millions), the 1952 Budget rises on the expenditure side to 8.65 milliards of piastres, whilst the normal scale of receipts is only 4.4 milliards. The Government has, therefore, been forced to institute a new tax—the Armament Surtax.

Later will be examined some of the projects of the Tam government, including reforms designed in the interests both of the rural population and the urban working class, the issuing of a Labour Code and the institution of Freedom of Association. The essential task needing attention has, without doubt, been the progressive establishment of a representative system. Thus, the first elections (for the communes) were held on the 25th January, 1953, and have resulted in a real success for the Government.

To organize these elections at all was a real risk. It could have been anticipated, above all, that with Viet-Minh issuing instructions for abstention, the voters would not dare to go to the poll for fear of terrorist reprisals. When to this factor could be added the fact that a fraction of the population is devoid of political education, and in consequence, undecided, and often neutralist or inclined to sit on the fence, a majority of abstentions could have been expected. Nothing of the kind occurred. The proportion of those voting exceeded the most optimistic forecasts, so much so that the polling centres were bottlenecked, and in many places the closing of the poll had to be delayed for two hours.

The official results show that, in the country as a whole, the percentage of those voting was more than 80 per cent; blank and invalid papers only amounting to 5 per cent. It is also remarkable that those elected were, on the scale of 60 per cent, ex-notables—those who had normally been nominated to the councils of communes before these were elected bodies. There are, as well, some shadows on the picture. In Hanoi, for instance, there was 47 per cent abstention; and those who did vote chose a list hostile to Franco-Vietnam collaboration. But even this result goes to show that the elections were entirely free. Of course, these elections are only the first stage. They concerned only that part of the country which is completely pacified. Only 2,000 communes took part, though they include most of the large centres and densely-populated areas.

* One Indochinese piastre equals 17 French francs.

It is, however, a matter of urgency to try to secure for Vietnam an organ of national representation. As the matters are now, it would seem scarcely possible to hold a General Election. Voting would be impossible in those regions controlled by Viet-Minh, or in those exposed to the operations of the guerillas—least of all in those where fighting is actually going on.

In the interim, until pacification is complete, and until non-communist political parties, capable of attracting those voters who so far are lacking in political tradition and education come into being, the Government is considering setting up provincial councils chosen by the councils of the communes. These provincial councils, in their turn, would nominate the members of a National Assembly.

• One of the factors which have contributed to the strengthening of Mr. Tam's government, and to their success at the elections has, without doubt, been their social reforms, consisting of the publication of a Labour Code and the granting of permission to form Trade Unions. The Labour Code regulates collective agreements, the calculation of the minimum wage, hours of work, apprenticeship, holidays, employment bureaux and disputes. Drawing its inspiration from Western legislation, it brings to Asian workmen, for the first time, statutory guarantees up to now unknown in that portion of the globe.

As regards Trade Unions, there did exist a certain number, affiliated to the Christian Workers Confederation or to the Confederation Generale du Travail-Force Ouvrière—but their existence was only semi-official. Now, all Vietnamese enjoy full liberty of association. Some persons are afraid that at a time of civil war this liberty is premature, and predict that the Unions will be diverted from their true mission by political agitators. Quite clearly, the Tam government is prepared to take the risk, and thus to show its faith in the future.

In agricultural reform, a matter of particular importance in a land so essentially agricultural as Vietnam, results have been perhaps less spectacular. The fact is that the problem is extremely complex and demands large-scale financial assistance. The problem has various aspects. Large areas remain very badly cultivated in the South (the area of great estates), while in the North, in the densely-populated Delta, questions of rent and of loans at usurious rates of interest are the most pressing.

The first step has been to set up a National Fund for loans to Agricultural and Handicraft Co-operative Societies. This office is designed to give the necessary assistance for buying agricultural land, or for setting up of a Handicraft Centre. It is hoped that, by this means, many tenant-farmers may become the owners of their land.

Manuel Luis Quezon : An Appraisal

By ALAN EDMOND KENT

THE GREAT-MAN THEORY as an explanation of the march of history is an out-moded concept. Historians prefer to think that the times make the man. Critical periods cry aloud for leaders and history attests that the call has not gone unanswered. The United States found Patrick Henry, Sam Adams, Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt in its hours of trial. Turkey produced Kemal Ataturk; the Philippines gave the nod to Manuel Luis Quezon.

To-day, more and more attention is being focussed upon Asia's struggle for survival. The Philippine Islands—a nation not yet seven years old—is in the thick of that battle. Agrarian disorders and an infamous election reveal that the Islands are far from secured as a bastion of democracy. The present chief executive, Elpidio Quirino, does not appear to be the "great man in a crisis." Filipinos still look in vain for a second Quezon.

The career of Manuel Quezon remains unique in Philippine annals. The Islands have their heroes—Rizal, Aguinaldo—but the wiry little Luzon firebrand stands as the Filipino's chief claim to fame.

When United States troops quashed the Philippine insurrection at the turn of the century they found Manuel Quezon in the rebel forces. The young lieutenant was capable of being reconstructed and rightly saw that co-operation with the Americans was the proper path to power. Joining the bandwagon, his first major triumph came after an appointment as resident commissioner to the United States. The earnest politician pleaded his case before President Woodrow Wilson, and the passage of the Jones Act (1916) which granted the Philippines a measure of self-government was due in part, at least, to Quezon's tireless efforts.

During the twenties, the Filipino consolidated his position in the Islands and became undisputed leader of the colony in its struggle for independence. When freedom appeared on the horizon in the form of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, Quezon turned thumbs down on the measure. The bill had certain economic and military shortcomings, but an important factor in the politico's veto lies in another area: the grant of independence had not been secured by Manuel Quezon. A committee headed by Quezon's arch rival, Sergio Osmeña, had returned from Washington with the freedom bill. In order to get the credit himself, but also to see if he couldn't do better by the Philippines, Señor Quezon journeyed to Washington early in 1934. He returned a few months later with the Tydings-McDuffie Act. The measure was almost identical

to its predecessor, but Quezon could claim independence was now his baby.

The next year he was elected first president of the Philippine Commonwealth. He had reached the apex of a brilliant political career. The years that followed were almost anti-climax. The President laboured like a beaver to prepare the Islands for full independence. Japanese invasion halted his life's dream and he died in 1944—head of a government—in exile.

Manuel Luis Quezon was a controversial figure of the first order. A fiery, dapper little man, Quezon was often called the "Patrick Henry of the Philippines." Journalists undoubtedly picked this appellation in deference to the memory of George Washington who might have taken a spin or two in the tomb had his name been coupled with that of Quezon. Washington was a picture of Anglo-Saxon austerity. Quezon was more the Latin who enjoyed doing things with a flourish. He was devoted to silk shirts and fancy suits and enjoyed occasional visits to night clubs.

The Filipino had much more in common with his American counterpart, Franklin Roosevelt. Both were astute politicians and both played to the masses and were interested in Social Justice. Both were victims of disease: Roosevelt carried the ravages of infantile paralysis, while Quezon was tubercular. And both, it seems, had the interests of the Philippines at heart.

For Quezon, of course, this was a full time job. Reading the press of this nation from 1935 to 1941 gives a rather odd picture of this head of a quasi-independent state. One day Quezon could be the most ardent independence advocate in the islands; the next it would be clear the President was in favour of a dominion. This inconsistency need not necessarily condemn the Philippine leader as an incompetent.

An opportunist, Quezon was driven by two furies. One was concerned with the welfare of the Philippines; the other desired to insure that Manuel Quezon would be remembered as the "great man" of Philippine history. In order to reach these goals, the Filipino worried much about the economic plight of the Islands and about the Japanese. What would happen to the Philippine economy if tariff preferences in the American market ended with independence? What would happen to a weak independent nation in the face of Japanese expansion?

Being of a quick turn of mind, Quezon thought one day that the interests of the Philippines and of Manuel Quezon could best be served by a dominion. The next, upon realizing that his whole political career was based on the fight for independence, he would recant. Quezon merits censure for not standing consistently in the shadow of a set principle, but his great concern for the future of the Islands tends to temper the criticism.

Opinion on Manuel Quezon is sharply divided. Like Roosevelt, he was either loved or despised. Major W. H. Anderson, a Manila American, termed him "one of the vilest, most cunning, most deceptive, most vacillating and most irresponsible politicians of the twentieth century." Another Manila American (a pre-commonwealth member of the Philippine Supreme Court) thought Quezon had "developed into that stature of statesmanship which makes him as truly typical of Filipinism as Sun Yat Sen was of China or Kemal Pasha of Turkey."

The truth is probably somewhere in between. As a virtual dictator, Quezon was constantly under fire. It was suspected that he viewed a growing Philippine army as an instrument to maintain himself in power. This was decidedly not true; Quezon's popularity did not have to rest on armed force and his sincere desire to create an army to meet invasion cannot be denied. Quezon's complete control of the political life of the Islands was also attacked. Americans often failed to realize that democracy of the United States variety was out of the question in view of the cultural heritage of the Philippines. Dictatorship, and it was qualified by a great deal of freedom and benevolence, had certain arguments in its favour for a Commonwealth government striving for independence.

Quezon was not profound; he could hardly be styled a statesman. The agrarian problem was a force to be reckoned with in the Philippines, but Quezon did little more than scratch the surface. For a moment after the outbreak of war in December, 1941, he entertained an idea for taking the Philippines out of the conflict that might be labelled treasonous if it were not apparent that Quezon's deep feeling for his nation transcended all else.

History will cite much evidence against the cocky little politician: his contradictory conduct, his opportunism, his dictatorship. One will also find much to admire: his political sagacity, his showmanship, his great fight for independence, his sincere (though somewhat superficial) interest in Philippine welfare. The Philippines may produce a greater figure, but they will never give birth to a more colourful one.

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Modern Schools in Turkey



A CLASS-ROOM IN A SCHOOL AT ANKARA



ART STUDENTS AT ANKARA

Review of Recent Chinese Publications

By A. G. MORKILL

China Reconstructs is probably the most factual publication and deals mainly with developments in agriculture, railways, conservancy, etc. It is illustrated and appears every two months. *People's China* is an illustrated fortnightly and *N.C.N.A.* (New China News Agency) a broad-sheet issued daily in London.

Much space in all this Chinese literature is devoted to the usual propaganda, "Peace," Germ Warfare, and Prisoners of War; the recent "Peace" Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions in Vienna figures as a prominent feature. There is, however, much information of general interest.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the declared policy of the Central People's Government to collectivize agriculture. This was to be achieved by stages beginning with Mutual Aid Teams, which later were to be combined into Agricultural Co-operative Units; in both these private ownership was to be preserved. Collective Farms would follow and the final stage would be the large highly mechanized State farms; in both these stages private ownership would disappear.

It is now announced that land reform has been carried out in respect of 90 per cent of the agricultural population and that under the redistribution of land confiscated from landowners, which was its main feature, 300 million peasants have been allotted 700 million mou, which works out at about one-third of an acre each. According to *China Reconstructs* of Nov./Dec. 1952 there are now six million mutual aid teams, employing 40 per cent of the agricultural population, and over 5,000 Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives. The *N.C.N.A.* (Sept. 23) reports that there are 10 collective farms (serving as pilot schemes) and (Sept. 17) that there are 548 State farms of a total area of 189,000 hectares, of which 29 farms aggregating 80,000 hectares are mechanized. (1 hectare equals $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres).

China Reconstructs for Nov./Dec. in an article on Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives states that these contain on an average 20 peasant families, working from 33 to 50 acres, but mention is made of units up to 180 acres with 80 families. The method of distribution of the crops varies, we are told, being calculated sometimes on the basis of land only (labour being paid in wages), sometimes on labour only, and sometimes on a combination of both. Yields on 40 Co-operatives in 1951 are stated to have surpassed those on land cultivated by individual peasants by 39.2 per cent and of land cultivated by mutual-aid teams by 16.4 per cent.

Crop yields are of especial interest now that China, which used to import food grains, is exporting rice to India and Ceylon. *People's China* (Nov. 1) reports agreements to sell Ceylon 80,000 tons of rice and to supply India with a further 50,000 tons, bringing China's rice exports to India to 556,500 tons. The *N.C.N.A.* (Feb. 9, 1953) records that 61,035 tons of Chinese rice had reached Ceylon which is supplying China with rubber in exchange. *People's China* (Oct. 16) states that, taking the "highest pre-liberation figure" as 100 production of "grain" in 1952 was 109 and of rice 118.7, but it is not stated from which year the pre-liberation figure is taken.

In order to illustrate the advantages claimed for the Producers' Co-operative over the Mutual Aid team and the lone cultivator, the article quotes yields of 900 and 1,320 lbs. of wheat per acre on two Hopei Co-operatives (compared with 660 for local mutual-aid teams). The *N.C.N.A.* quotes yields of 1,674 lbs. and 2,959 lbs. of "grain" by other co-operatives and a yield of 4,684 lbs. of rice per acre on a Co-operative in Chekiang. The country's total production is not given, which makes comparison with former years difficult. *The China Handbook*, 1937-43, gave the average figures for 22 provinces over the period 1931-37, converted into lbs. per acre as: wheat 1,158, rice 2,730 and sorghum (kaoliang) 1,446. *Land and Labour in China* by R. H. Tawney (published 1932) in a table comparing crop yields in different countries gives these yields per acre for China: wheat 10.8 bushels (=648 lbs.), corn 11.7 bushels (=655 lbs.), and rice 1,750 lbs.

Free China Information of Feb. 5 contains an account of land reform in Taiwan. In the first stage rents were reduced to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the main crop; the second stage was the sale of 46,309 hectares of State land to 96,906 tenants, and in the final stage 70 per cent of the total of rented land is to be purchased from the owners out of a fund raised by the sale of Government industries and sold to tenants for 2½ times the value of the annual main crop, payable by the tenant in ten yearly instalments. The landowners will keep 3 hectares of padi and 6 of dry land. The aim is peasant proprietorship and owners are compensated for being dispossessed.

There is an account in *China Reconstructs* of developments in animal husbandry in the North-West. Stallions have been imported from the U.S.S.R., a new sheep (a cross between Rambouillet and Kasakh) is yielding 16 lbs. of fine soft wool each year and good results are being obtained by crossing Chinese sheep with Soviet Merinos. Artificial insemination has been introduced.

People's China of Nov. 1 records that the first train has reached Lanchow on the new line which extends the existing Lunghai Railway to that city. The new section covers 225 miles and will improve the transport

of copper, iron, coal, salt and petroleum from Kansu, and of furs, live-stock, and wool from the North-West. It will also bring the manufactures of the East coast to the West.

The line from Chungking to Chengtu was constructed and opened in 1952, and a line from Chengtu to Tienhsui, where it will meet the line from the East coast to Lanchow, is under construction. A line from Lanchow to Sinkiang, to connect with the Soviet Railway system is projected.

Reviewing trade and industry *People's China* of Oct. 16 gives the following figures of industry and commerce. Taking the highest "pre-liberation" figure as 100, cotton production in 1952 was 155, hemp 559, tobacco 294, sugar 117, pig iron 104, steel ingots 155, coal 90, electric power 115, petrol 136, cement 148, timber 136, cotton yarn 144, cotton cloth 161, flour 106, refined sugar 100, paper 234, cigarettes 145, matches 111. The State produced 67.3 per cent of all industrial goods and handles (with co-operatives) 62.9 per cent of all trade. *N.C.N.A.* of Sept. 18 states that 70 per cent of China's foreign trade was with U.S.S.R. and satellites, that the State owned 78/80 per cent of heavy industry, 40 per cent of light industry, all railways, 60 per cent of shipping, and controlled 90 per cent of loans and deposits.

Throughout these accounts emphasis is laid on the production drive which is being stimulated by methods adopted in the U.S.S.R.; e.g., *N.C.N.A.* of Sept. 25 reports that a model bricklaying team in Harbin had stepped up the daily number of bricks laid per man to 1,800 as compared with a previous 700. British Trade Union comments would be interesting. *People's China* of Dec. 16 reports that in the past three years new afforestation covers an area one-third the size of Switzerland.

Astronomical figures of the output of literature are given in *People's China*. In 1952 it is estimated that 886 million copies of books and 180 million copies of periodicals were issued as compared with 178 million and 32,200,000 respectively in 1936. In the last three years 3,686,000 copies of works by Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Stalin, and 3,020,000 of Mao's selected works were issued. Prominence is given to the drive against illiteracy.

While these publications give a picture of improved conditions for peasants and industrial workers of developing industry and general contentment, *Free China Information* of Jan. 5 (quoting a stray copy of the *Sian Multitude Daily* of Oct. 21) reports a peasant rising in Kansu involving 20,000 people, taking three months to suppress and costing the Government 3,000 killed, and a review of the past three years in *People's China* of Oct. 16 mentions that "We have liquidated more than two million bandits."

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Some Aspects of my Work at the U.N. Assembly

By BEGUM LIAQUAT ALI KHAN



IT IS WITH very great pleasure, but a certain amount of trepidation, that I presume to address this august and very experienced gathering, under the distinguished chairmanship of Sir Partick Spens, whose outstanding legal acumen has been recognized and respected both at home and abroad. The East India Association itself has a most imposing array of celebrity members and a long record of achievement to its name. No small amount of this, I feel sure, is due to the interest, zeal and personal calibre of its Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, who has served its cause for over 25 years.

My work in the United Nations was neither glamorous, spectacular, nor momentous; but it did represent one small facet of the way in which Pakistan is approaching certain problems of both national and international importance. It is, therefore, in this light that I put before you three of the problems with which I was personally connected in the Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly at its seventh session in New York in the closing months of 1952. They are: (1) *The Convention on the Political Rights of Women*; (2) *Freedom of Information*; and (3) *Right of Self-Determination of Peoples*.

My short experience as a Pakistan delegate convinced me of two things: firstly, that there are no glib, easy, ready-made solutions to the world's political, social, economic and cultural problems; and, secondly, that, in spite of all the difficulties and complexities, much more could and would be done towards their solution if fear and power-politics were not allowed to interfere as often as they do. However, I do feel, that, in spite of all its sins of omission and commission, the U.N.'s greatest contribution to world peace is that it provides a platform, a sort of international soap-box, where the various nations may at least have their say and blow off, dangerous steam—steam which, this way, merely blisters the ear-phones in this modern Tower of Babel, instead of blowing the lids off a series of wars.

The adoption of the Covenant on the Political Rights of Women is a landmark in the 50 years of struggle by the women of the world to achieve full equality of political rights with men. The impact of this consummation on the consciousness of women in all parts of the world must be

tremendous. Briefly, women have been given three political rights: the right of voting at elections, the right of representation on publicly elected bodies, and the right of holding public office. This Convention is now open for signature by the 60 member States of the U.N. Of these 60 the following 12 do not grant women any political rights: Afghanistan, Iran, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Ethiopia, Columbia, Honduras, Bolivia and Nicaragua. There is no doubt that this will soon be rectified in Egypt, and that the women of the other Middle East countries are now becoming increasingly aware of this problem.

As I mentioned in my statement before the Third Committee on the 15th December, Articles 1 and 2 of the Draft Convention (i.e. the right to vote at elections and the right of representation) present us with no difficulty, for under laws enacted in 1951 and 1952 by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, women have been given the right to vote, to stand for elections, and to be eligible for appointment to public office on equal terms with men. In addition, seats have been reserved for them in the legislatures so that they may be encouraged to stand for elections. These, and other rights which are theirs under the personal law of Islam, provide our women with the challenge to fit themselves to make full and proper use of those rights and the responsibilities they entail.

With regard to Article 3 concerning the right of women to hold public offices, Pakistan along with the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and several others, felt that if "public office" was meant to include both appointive as well as elective offices, then they must make some reservations regarding certain appointive offices, such as those of the Armed Forces, a few civil services and other miscellaneous posts, to which it is deemed both inexpedient and inadvisable to appoint women. As was pointed out, women are not appointed to certain functions in the churches of advanced countries. One has to face the fact that there are some posts for which women are both physically and temperamentally unsuitable, and I do not feel they lose anything by forgoing such posts. I did suggest however, that the application of the Convention to Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories must be made obligatory, for the grant of political rights to the women of these territories on equal terms with their menfolk would contribute to a more speedy attainment of the advance required of them in order to exercise their right to self-determination.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

This brings me to the second of my topics, that very important but very elusive subject Freedom of Information with its various knotty problems.

of (a) the international right of correction, (b) the future work of the U.N. in the field of freedom of information, (c) false and distorted information, (d) the dissemination of U.N. resolutions, (e) information facilities in under-developed regions of the World, (f) the need for a draft international code of ethics. On a report of the Third Committee regarding these problems resolutions were adopted on each of them by the General Assembly at its plenary meeting on the 16th December, 1952. For seven years the subject has been under discussion, and still remains on the anvil of controversy.

The Economic and Social Council had appointed the representative of the Philippines, Mr. Salvador P. Lopez, in his personal capacity, as rapporteur on freedom of information, with orders to report back to the Council in 1953. Under these circumstances it was considered advisable to keep an open mind on certain controversial points raised until the Council had studied his report, so as not to prejudice the issues.

I need not stress the great importance we attached to the free flow of information and opinion in the building up of understanding, and the peace and prosperity which are the results of it; not to mention the accepted basic right of all peoples to be fully and reliably informed. The power of the Press; of the written and spoken word; of the multiple methods and media of knowledge and publicity, constitute a very powerful but dangerous and double-edged weapon which may be the source of the greatest good if wisely encouraged and controlled, or of the greatest evil in the form of racial or war propaganda, if uncontrolled or unsubjected to any form of international ethics. The problem is made doubly complicated by the very vagueness of the frontiers between true, false and distorted reporting, and the relative and other aspects of what is good and desirable, and what is not.

THE INFORMATION SERVICES

Many representatives stressed the importance of building up the information services of under-developed countries, since the lack of such facilities was one of the more concrete obstacles to freedom of information which concerted action could undoubtedly remove in the future. Such action, taken through the United Nations and not by any one country would both enlarge the scope and amount of information available to them, and protect such countries from the undue influence of the powerful information agencies of larger, more developed countries. In this connexion it was also suggested, without any intention of prejudicing the forthcoming report of the rapporteur, or the work of the Social and Economic Council in this respect, that some attention should be devoted

to the following problems:—An adequate and clear concept of the meaning of freedom of information; the concrete ways in which information media may be made to serve the cause of peace, and obstacles to the free flow of information may be eliminated; and the utility of conventions on freedom of information and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries in building up independent national information agencies.

A CODE OF ETHICS

It was my privilege, in the Third Committee, to state the reasons which led the Pakistan delegation to become one of the sponsors of the draft resolution concerning the convening of an international professional conference for the adoption of an *International Code of Ethics*, which would, we felt, not only act as a guide to journalists, but at the same time safeguard the right to freely gather, transmit and disseminate news throughout the world, and also ensure to every one the right to seek, receive and impart information.

Agreement with regard to a Convention on Freedom of Information was being held up due to conflicting opinions on the rights, practices and obligations to be included in it. Hence we argued that a Draft Code of Ethics which included (1) the obligation to respect the reputation of individuals and (2) the duty of ensuring that the *public* receives only factually accurate information, would considerably increase the possibilities of resolving the deadlock on the issue.

We did not feel any doubt in recommending the Draft Code in its revised form since it was drawn up by persons who served on the Sub-Commission, not as representatives of governments, but in their individual capacities as experts on journalism. Moreover, the text of the Code was evolved after careful study of various national and international codes, and after considering informed professional opinion and comment by some 500 national and international associations. The majority of these associations agreed that the Draft Code would serve a very useful purpose, but some few disagreed, urging that a good, honest and experienced journalist did not need to be told what correct professional conduct was. We could not believe that, while it was still considered necessary to regulate professional conduct in the fields of engineering, law, medicine, and education, it was not necessary to do so in the profession of gathering and disseminating news, and commenting on and interpreting information and opinions. We felt it was definitely necessary to have a code of ethics to establish international standards of professional conduct. We lent our support to Article 4 of the Draft Code which required of those who

describe and comment upon events relating to a foreign country, the duty of acquiring the necessary knowledge of that country to help them make accurate and fair reports and comments, and thus safeguard international respect and goodwill. We also agreed with the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, that any further development of the Draft Code of Ethics should be carried out by professional associations, without any governmental interference on either the national or international planes.

SELF-DETERMINATION

I pass on now to my third and more explosive topic—the Right of the Self-Determination of Peoples. The urgency of the problem was generally accepted, but, as Mr. Trygvie Lie, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, and our own Foreign Minister, the Honourable Zafarullah Khan, pointed out, the question was whether it could be solved by peaceful and evolutionary means *rapidly* enough to prevent sharp and bitter and inevitable conflict if it was not. Historic forces will not be denied, while men split hairs and wrangle over legal technicalities. That is the great danger and, therefore, time is an important factor if world peace is to be preserved. I will review very briefly the background to this topic before taking up some of the objections levelled against it, and the amendments proposed.

At the request of the Sixth General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights prepared an article each for the two draft Human Rights' Covenants (one political and the other social and economic), and also two draft resolutions (A) recommending Member States to uphold the principle of self-determination, to assist non-self governing and trust territories to reach a realization of this right, and to grant it upon popular demand—and (B) that Member States in charge of such territories, should voluntarily include information on the political growth of these territories in the social, economic and educational reports required by the Charter.

Many objections were raised. China contended that the right of self-determination of peoples was of a collective nature and it would not be appropriate to include it in any Conventions concerned with individual rights. Such a contention, however, Pakistan maintained, was inadmissible as no sharp distinction can be drawn between the different categories of what are, in fact, indivisible human rights. The Covenants of Human Rights included articles for the protection of the religion, language and culture of minority groups—surely a collective measure—and conversely, no less a body than the International Law Commission,

at its first session, did not think it incongruous to include Article 6 to protect the individual rights of every person in a State "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion," in a document purporting to enunciate collective rights and duties of States. We, therefore, held that the inclusion of both individual and collective rights in the same legal instrument did not offend against any technical rule or law of propriety.

OBJECTIONS TO THE DRAFT

In the xivth Session of the E.C.O.S.O.C., France had raised the objection that, in drafting the text of the article on the Right of Self-Determination, no thought had been given to the primacy of the development of individual rights and of respect for those rights. We felt that this contention was wrongly based upon the notion that there was an inherent conflict between the right of self-determination and the exercise of individual rights. We pointed out that, on the contrary, it is only when a people is in enjoyment of its right of self-determination that the unfettered exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination is at all possible.

Many objections to the text of the article on self-determination were based on the purely technical, legal approach to the subject, requiring prior and precise juridical definitions of the concepts of "peoples," "nations" and "self-determination," and their relation to other concepts of international law, and the establishment of legal procedures calculated to ensure the full exercise of that right by democratic means. Both Belgium and the United Kingdom required precise answers to a truly formidable questionnaire, which we were assured was illustrative and not exhaustive! It was suggested that this colossal task should be undertaken by the International Law Commission, the E.C.O.S.O.C. and The Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, but our contention was that this would be not only an impossible, but a futile task, and a virtually permanent postponement of a subject for which the challenge of historic forces demanded a *rapid* and just solution. Was this the approach adopted by the U.N. in drawing up the texts of the Covenants on Human Rights? Were all the terms and concepts of these Covenants subjected to the same degree of legal precision before being accepted, as was being demanded in the wording of the article on self-determination?

A few illustrations will serve to show that this was not so. The Covenant dealing with economic, social and cultural rights speaks of the right to "fair wages," social security," "adequate housing," "adequate

standard of living." These terms surely are relative to circumstances and not absolute, when applied to countries such as Pakistan and the Middle East, on the threshold of economic development, as compared to the highly developed economies of the U.S.A. and the U.K. Article 4 in the same Covenant speaks of "general welfare in a democratic society," but exactly what are "general welfare" and a "democratic society"? Such concepts are widely and variously interpreted by the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the countries which are known as the Peoples' Democracies.

Article 4 of the Charter lays down that membership to the U.N. is open to the "peace loving States" who accept the Charter obligations and are "willing and able to carry out these obligations." Certain obvious and pertinent questions arise: (a) According to what specific criteria is a State considered peace loving or otherwise? (b) Does the word "State" apply only to those with full sovereign powers, or may it include those who just fall short of these by not being able to enter into international relations? (c) What specific factors determine a State's ability to carry out the Charter obligations? No precise rules furnishing categorical answers to all these questions are as yet to be found in the jurisprudence of the United Nations. The General Assembly and Security Council have had to use a certain amount of discretion and individual judgment in all such cases, and therefore, it is reasonable to presume that the same may be done for the concepts used in regard to self-determination to justify their inclusion in a legal instrument.

VOLUNTARY INFORMATION

Passing from theory to practice, we held that there were no insuperable obstacles to the implementation of the Right of Self-Determination because of the lack of precise legal criteria to determine its legal application, provided the parties concerned agree to implement the Right in good faith. For example the U.N. allowed no legalistic doubts to interfere with its support to the freedom of Indonesia, or the sovereignty of Libya; nor did British statesmanship when it conferred independence upon Burma, India, Ceylon and Pakistan; or the U.S.A. when it recognized the independence of the Philippines.

Both France and the U.K. objected in particular to Draft Resolution B, requesting voluntary political information on self-determination to be included in their reports required by Article 73 (e) of the Charter, as a distortion of the meaning and intention of this Article, and as an indirect attempt to amend the Charter. Even if we conceded the point, for the sake of argument, we felt the objection was most ably answered by

Professor Hans Kelson, a highly qualified publicist, in the Introduction of his book, *Recent Trends in the law of the United Nations*: I quote:

"The law of a community—national or international—and especially its Constitution or Constituent treaty, may be changed, not only by formal amendments, carried out in accordance with the procedure laid down for this purpose in the law itself. It may be modified also by its actual application based on an interpretation which, more or less consistent with the letter of the law, is not in conformity with the ascertainable intention of its authors. This is the way the law adapts itself to changing circumstances if it is too difficult or impossible to put in operation the amendment procedure."

EFFECT ON WORLD PEACE

The most astonishing of all the objections brought against the inclusion of the Article on Self-Determination and against Draft Resolutions A and B, was that this right might jeopardize, or even subvert world peace. Yet Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter declare such rights to be the very basis for universal peace. What we asked was, whether world peace was so postulated that it depended on the continuing existence of a certain balance of power which necessitated the perpetual dependence of certain peoples, through no fault of their own; or whether it was more conceivably the fear of the loss of raw materials and other resources, the man-power, strategic territory and other economic assets; which sought to withhold or delay the right of self-determination for non-self-governing territories. I raised the issue of Kashmir as an example, when speaking on this subject in the Third Committee, for here was a case which might well shatter world peace if a speedy and just solution was not forthcoming through a free and impartial plebiscite under the aegis of the United Nations.

How will the world respond to the challenge of national aspirations seeking self-expression? This is a challenge upon which so much of the future peace and prosperity of the world depends, and one in which the maximum of good-will and understanding is necessary. It heartened me to find the increasingly important part the women of the world were playing in this and other urgent problems. In the Third Committee I was one of no less than 15 women representing 15 different countries, all of them keenly alert and intelligently responsive to the importance of their deliberations and their opportunities for service, especially in social, economic and cultural matters which are specifically the concern of the Third Committee, and which form the basis and substance of political growth and development.

THE FOREGOING PAPER was read at a Joint Meeting with the Over-Seas League held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Monday, 27th April, 1953, Sir PATRICK SPENS, KBE, QC, MP, presided over the first part

of the meeting. He announced with regret that Begum Liaquat Ali Khan was unable to be present through illness. He thought that all the members of the audience had been looking forward very much to hearing her address. He could look back, as could several others, on the hospitality received from her and her late husband in Delhi in the days before 1947.

OUTSTANDING WORK FOR WOMEN

As Chief Justice he had no right to meddle even in the outskirts of politics but nonetheless as a guest he met many interesting people. Unfortunately, he had to leave early for the House of Commons and Mrs. M. A. O. Baig would take his place. Miss Miles would read the Begum's paper, and it was therefore a meeting of substitutes. He had had the advantage of reading the Begum's paper in respect of her most valuable work for Pakistan at United Nations. She would talk on three subjects. First, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women; secondly, Freedom of Information and, thirdly, Right of Self-determination of Peoples, subjects which were discussed at great length at United Nations. Pakistan had been particularly fortunate in that two old friends had done her great service at United Nations, namely, Sir Zafrullah Khan and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan. The Convention on the Political Rights of Women was the subject nearest to the Begum's own heart. Her work for the women of Pakistan had been very great and very outstanding and he had not the slightest doubt that she was right.

He remembered years ago when he was a young political candidate in East London, what was called "the flapper vote" was introduced by Mr. Baldwin. Before it was introduced Mr. Baldwin consulted a number of friends as to its wisdom, and those who were Conservatives would know that a great many members of the Conservative Party thought that it was a mistake to introduce this vote. He, on the contrary, working in the East-End of London, Shoreditch and Hoxton, where there was much unemployment, found that the most reliable person in the community was the young married woman, and he was fully in favour of that policy because he was quite certain that the more the vote could be extended to the young married women the better it would be for the community as a whole.

All knew the influence which women wielded in India, particularly the influence they had in Pakistan. They always would wield that influence, but it might be that it was better that it should be done by allowing them to have political rights, such as the Begum favoured, than in the way which many knew, the influence wielded behind the purdah and otherwise. At any rate, the audience would hear what she had to say on that question.

PROPOSED PRESS COUNCILS

With regard to Freedom of Information—the Begum coupled that with a much deeper subject, namely, the ethics of information, and how some sort of standard of ethics was to be established and maintained in those who supplied information. It was an old, old story in this country which was not yet finished and there was still talk at intervals of a Press Council to do very much the same as was done by the appropriate authorities in the legal and medical professions. It might be something one would see in the future, but it was something which it was very difficult to force on the profession of journalism and something about which they had to make up their minds in the future.

In respect to the Right of Self-determination of Peoples the Begum admitted that this was the most controversial subject of her talk, as would be seen, and he was not sure that he entirely agreed with all she said. There was no doubt that after the first world war it was very largely accepted as a principle to which nations grown up and growing up were entitled to apply, and there were now many other States and communities claiming the same right of self-determination. What the Begum had to say she not only said from her own wisdom and experience, which was the experience of the wife of one of the wisest statesmen who had ever come from India, but also from her experience at Lake Success where she met representatives of other nations.

“LOOSELY WORDED AGREEMENTS”

There would be a reference in the paper to those who claimed, however humbly and unjustifiably, to be international lawyers. International lawyers were no more popular in international affairs than they were in private affairs, but he would ask his audience when they read the proceedings of United Nations to bear in mind that loosely worded agreements between nations were of no more value to the community of nations than loosely worded agreements between individuals in any civilized society. They led to trouble, and before agreements were made he believed there was a field in which the services of international lawyers were required. His anxiety about United Nations was that a great many agreements were discussed and made which in the end might cause many differences and much confusion. Not nearly so many questions would be discussed in the way they were discussed at United Nations, not nearly so many agreements would be made so quickly as they were made if more thought were given to them. His own personal view was that while he believed United Nations was doing a service to the world which no one could

possibly underestimate, at the same time he thought the danger was that those who represented the various nations at United Nations were inclined to take up this or that special matter, coming to agreements which might or might not be for the benefit of the world as a whole. He had not the slightest doubt that most of his hearers would think that these were the words of a regular old Tory!

Miss MILES, secretary to Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, then read the Paper.

VIEWS OF A VETERAN JOURNALIST

Mr. S. K. RATCLIFFE said that, in connexion with the claims of women before the United Nations, one whose memories of India went back over half a century could not fail to note the extraordinary transformation that had occurred within that period in the whole scene. In the modern age the East had been always changing, and it could be said that in the life of the peoples there had been no movement that could be compared with that in the status and activities of women. In the speed and scope of that advance there was a great deal to encourage those whose inclination was to lament the slowness with which important social changes come about. Women in all lands, of course, must achieve their own emancipation, yet at the same time it must be true that the influence of a world organization such as that of the United Nations was of inestimable value. Freedom of speech and discussion, upon which the Begum had laid special emphasis, was of greater moment to-day than it had ever been, and here again the service to be rendered by the United Nations was very great. A veteran journalist, however, found himself driven to take into account the material obstacles that have to be surmounted. If, for instance, we considered the make-up of any popular newspaper, and the demands of the public it sought to serve, we could see how small were the chances that it could find room for news of important world affairs and for comment upon them. The third leading topic of the paper, self-determination, had been prominent ever since the close of the First War. It was most pressing to-day. Fresh problems of national independence were continually emerging amid the rapid events of Eastern Asia. The Begum's own country, Pakistan, had provided a noteworthy instance. There could be no doubt that the Western nations and their governments were looking upon the Eastern peoples and their present struggles as affording the most striking examples of the active will to independence. And there, perhaps, lay the hardest problem calling for solution in a world that was anxious above all to attain unity and security.

Miss AGATHA HARRISON said that she was at United Nations at the same time as the Begum, representing the Society of Friends. It was inspiring to see women representatives sitting round contributing vitally to the discussions which were taking place. The progress made in India and Pakistan since independence was a living example of what could be done under great handicaps, particularly with regard to women.

The staff of United Nations issued a series of interviews of outstanding people who came to the United Nations and the Begum was amongst them. The interviews were collected into a pamphlet and sent out for information. Men and women in the West would be able to see Pakistan through the eyes of this gifted woman, who had challenged her own sex to move forward into a great opportunity.

TWO WORLDS

Mrs. M. A. O. BAIG, speaking from the Chair, said that as a Pakistani she was very proud that her country possessed a lady such as the Begum. She was very sorry to hear that there were twelve nations the women of which still had no political rights, but they were backward economically and industrially as well, and perhaps when they opened up their industry they would find that they needed the help of women and would then have to give them special rights. There were still countries forming new Constitutions which did not include votes for women. She agreed that the armed forces could remain with the men.

Freedom of information was very difficult and important, but were there not two different worlds at the moment? It was difficult to circulate news correctly when one half of the world was so different from the other with the iron curtain in between. Then there was the cost; some countries could spend more than others, and still others could not spend anything at all in obtaining news. Even in America, however, the news was often not correct. In the *New York Times* for instance, a day or two before, she found two gross errors in accounts of Pakistan; it was said that there were 60 million refugees, instead of 6 million, and the age of Pakistan as a country was wrongly stated.

She had not been to United Nations since 1947; she remembered that the case of Palestine was easily handled. United Nations mobilized its forces and sent them to Korea to stop aggression. There was still the Kashmir and many other problems to be solved. United Nations had made mistakes but all hoped that there would be some improvement and a continuance of the good work which was going on.

Sir HAROLD SHOOBERT proposing the usual vote of thanks said there had been an upsurge of women so tremendous in the modern world that

men very often had to take a back seat. They found that women could do almost anything as well as they could themselves and a good many things a great deal better. He had known the Begum for very many years and had enjoyed hospitality in her charming house. He did not know if it was a test of greatness to be modest, but these two people as they rose in their stature in the world never seemed to change. During that tremendous period after 1947 they, more than any others, were responsible for helping to build up a great nation, yet when one met them in their moments of leisure they were just the same dear, lovable people, enjoying the same jokes, and very kind to their more humble friends.

India's Problems : Human and Economic

By Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER, KCSI, KCMG

A JOINT MEETING with the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1., on Tuesday, 17th March, 1953, when a lecture on this subject was given by Sir George Schuster.

The Chair was taken by Sir KENNETH MEALING. He said that many of those present would no doubt remember Sir George Schuster, when he was the Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1928 to 1934. It was probably true to say that the Finance Member must expect generally to be the least popular member of a Cabinet, particularly after a Budget, but he confessed that he himself looked back with nostalgia—friendly and indeed affectionate nostalgia—to those days. It was not then the bounden duty of the Finance Member to exact the last drop of blood from the stone, nor to devise means of killing the goose which laid the golden eggs.

Sir George had just returned from a visit of a few weeks to India as the guest of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. After 19 years absence he returned to India, not as an ordinary "cold weather visitor" but as a particularly acute observer, to a scene which he had known so well, particularly in regard to economic and financial matters. Therefore the contacts he made with many of the primary authors of the Five Year Plan and with Ministers and officials in the Government of India, put him in a position to form opinions and views on the human and economic problems of India in a way that was almost unexampled. He

had returned to India objectively and without bias. He (the Chairman) believed that his paper would be found intensely interesting.

TWO DOMINATING IMPRESSIONS

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER said: To revisit India after an absence of 19 years leaves one with vivid impressions. I could talk at length on these—the increased sense of vigour and self-confidence among all the Indians whom I met; the beauty of New Delhi now that its trees have grown and its gardens matured; the vast growth of the new cities, especially New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta; the increased crowds in the streets; the signs of healthy life with games of cricket going on in every corner of the great Maidan in Calcutta and on every bit of open space in Bombay; the changed cosmopolitan character of Delhi with its new diplomatic society and embassies of every nation; the crowds of foreign experts scattered about India and advising on every subject under the sun. But, over-riding all these, I have come back with two dominating impressions. The first is of the vast problems faced by India since the start of her independence in 1947 and of the great credit due to the Indian leaders for the way in which these problems have been tackled. The second is the impression of warm personal friendship, inspired by the kindness and courtesy which I and my wife received everywhere and at all levels, from the President and Prime Minister downwards. And so my chief feelings are of friendship for India, and an intense desire to do everything possible to encourage good understanding between our two people while behind these feelings lies the conviction that India is above all a country worth helping.

That brings me to my subject—"India's Problems: Human and Economic." The two sides are intimately interconnected. On the one hand it will be impossible to achieve the increased material production which India needs for solving her economic problems unless the right human spirit of effort and confidence can be evoked among all ranks; on the other hand success in solving material problems will not be securely won (as resting on a foundation of social stability), nor be worth winning unless it can be achieved in ways which preserve human values and provide a basis for worthy human lives. This is a thought which runs through all that I have to say.

I went out to India on the invitation of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. They wished me to take a broad view of the Indian economic scene and develop my impressions in a series of discussions and public speeches. Their programme gave me no time for detailed study.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

A few days before my arrival the Government had brought out the final version of its Five Year Plan—of which a preliminary draft sketch had been published a year before. During the year there had been wide consultation on the draft with all sections of the public and the final version was approved by the Indian Parliament during the week of my arrival. Obviously, therefore, the chief question for me was “How far is the Plan likely to produce the right solutions for India’s economic problems?”

My present purpose is to consider the main broad issues and what practical action needs to be taken. I do not want to get involved in details; but I must as a preface give an outline sketch of the main proposals.

The Plan covers the years from 1951–2 to 1955–6. It contemplates special expenditure of 2069 crores of Rupees (about £1,550 million). (This may appear to be a large sum, but in relation to a country of India’s size it is very modest. It may be compared with the £4,700 million which was the figure originally fixed for the U.K. *three-year* Defence expenditure programme). Of the total to be spent by far the greater part is for helping agricultural production. Agricultural and community development, irrigation and Power, Transport and Communications account for just under 70 per cent of the total.

ALLOCATION

Social Services, Rehabilitation, etc., absorb about 22 per cent, leaving for direct *Industrial* development 8.4 per cent, 173 crores (£130 million). When considering this last figure, however, it is necessary to remember that this is only for industrial expenditure by *Government*, and that an important feature of the Plan is that the main development of industry is left to private enterprise, although the broad objectives are set out in the Plan and Government controls are to be used to guide action towards these. For this “private sector” industrial development the total capital required is estimated at 233 crores (£175 million) for new investment, and 150 crores (£112½ million) for making good arrears in depreciation.

One must take account of these private sector requirements when considering how far the *available* national resources will be adequate. The Planning Commission forecast is that *internal* capital resources together with foreign assistance already received will provide 1,414 crores, so that a gap is left of 655 crores (£491 million) to make up the five year total for public expenditure of Rs. 2,069 crores. To fill part of this gap 290 crores

is to be drawn from India's sterling balances.* But there will still remain a gap of Rs. 365 crores, which the Planning Commission frankly admit can only be filled by external capital. Moreover, when considering what will be required it is, as I have already pointed out, necessary also to take account of the requirements for private industrial development, and beyond that one has to look forward to the much greater requirements for industrial development which will become effective after the first five years period. Of these I shall speak later. At this stage I must content myself with anticipating one of my main final conclusions.

The extent of India's economic development, indeed her power to find any satisfactory solution for her problems, depends largely on the degree to which external capital resources will be available.

IS THIS PLAN RIGHT ?

I regard the broad objectives of the Plan as unquestionably right. It has been adopted by the Government and accepted by the Indian Parliament after a wide process of consultation with all sections of the public. Action *must* now go forward on these lines. The right thing *at this stage* is for all people to ask themselves the question: "What can *we* do *now* to contribute to the successful implementation of the Plan?" rather than to attempt to calculate how far the assumptions on which it rests are likely to be realized and what is to happen if they are not. Whatever may eventually happen as regards these assumptions there are certain lines of action to be taken now, which must be right, and which need to be followed out if there is to be any chance of success.

Perhaps I might put the same idea in another way. India's economic development (industrial and agricultural) depends on four elements: men, materials, machines and money. Whatever may be the supply of the last three elements, the conduct of men—the human element—can make or mar the prospects of success. India will in fact encounter great difficulties in getting all the machines, material and money required for her economic progress. But human effort and human confidence can, as the history of many countries shows, do much to overcome such material difficulties. It is for this reason that I have wanted to concentrate my attention on the things which men (especially the industrialists who asked my advice) can do, and on the arrangements which can be

*Here incidentally it is legitimate to interpose the comment that India has been enormously aided in her recovery efforts by being able to draw on the sterling balance accumulated by her during the war. Of course from the Indian point of view this can be regarded as no more than the just repayment of a debt; but the fact that Britain has been willing in the midst of her own terrific post-war difficulties to repay this war debt at a rate adapted to India's needs can, I think, be regarded as an example of integrity and a generous interpretation of our obligations of which we can be proud. I must also add that the Indian Government on their side have been reasonable in pressing their claims. In fact I think it fair to say that the handling of the problem of India's sterling balances (which seemed in advance to represent such a menacing cloud of difficulties) represents something which reflects great credit on both sides.

made for strengthening the right human motives and for making human effort effective.

THE MAIN PROBLEMS

The main features as I see them are:

- (a) India is an essentially agricultural country—(about three-quarters of its people dependent on agriculture)—and yet at present it is not producing enough food to feed its own people even at their present very low standards.
- (b) The population is increasing at the rate of four and a quarter millions every year.
- (c) On a long view there is no room to absorb great numbers of additional workers in agricultural production. Indeed if Indian agricultural industry is to make its best contribution to the Indian economy a reduction in the numbers on the land would be desirable.
- (d) Therefore the great bulk of the working part of the 4½ millions added every year to the population must be placed in industry or tertiary employment.
- (e) Accordingly India needs a vast expansion of manufacturing industry if only as a means for providing bread-winning employment for her increasing population. (That is not the only reason for such an expansion. A greater proportion of industrial employment is necessary if there is to be any improvement in the general standard of living).
- (f) But such an industrial expansion can have no sure foundation unless there can be first achieved a vast increase in agricultural production. This is necessary for a double reason. Unless more food can be produced it will be impossible to feed the increasing numbers employed in industry. Unless the purchasing power of the agricultural producer is greatly improved Indian industry will not be able to find markets for its products. (This is not to deny the possibility that Indian industry will be able to find export markets for some of its products. But this can only be a very small proportion of the total production if there is to be an expansion of industry on the scale which the national needs demand).

It is therefore necessary to concentrate first on the development of agricultural production.

It is because such a concentration is the main characteristic of the Five-Year Plan that I regard its broad lines as right. But the first five years must be regarded as no more than the first chapter of a much longer story of development—the first act of a much longer drama.

The essential purpose of this “first act” must accordingly be seen as two-fold: 1st: to achieve the maximum possible immediate increase in agricultural production. 2nd: to be a period of preparation for a great industrial expansion. Therefore the practical questions to be asked are:

- (i) What steps can be taken to aid the most rapid and effective development of agricultural production?
- (ii) What can be done to “set the stage” for the great industrial expansion which should follow in the later acts of the Indian drama?

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the case of *agricultural development*, the Plan falls broadly under two heads, first schemes for capital expenditure on works for irrigation and communications, and, secondly, schemes for achieving a general uplift of production and life in the rural areas through measures such as the Community Development Projects.

From the point of view which I am taking it is the importance of the latter kind of work which chiefly needs emphasis. Of course the irrigation schemes are of tremendous importance. Altogether they provide for irrigating 19 million acres (8 million by major schemes involving important engineering works and 11 million by minor irrigation and tube well schemes). But the major schemes will absorb vast amounts of capital (almost certainly more than the present estimates) and will take years to complete. The Community Development Projects on the other hand could produce quick results and it is here that the human element comes in. I look at the matter in this way. The great irrigation projects bring their benefits as gifts from above; things done *for* the people by a remote Government acting as Providence. The object of the Community Development Schemes on the other hand is to get people to do things for themselves—bringing only such help as is needed to make their own efforts effective. Unless, through schemes like this, something can be done to stir the enthusiasm of the rural communities and mobilize the will to work *all* the objects of the Plan will fail.

The essential idea of the Community Development Projects is to give intensive attention to selected areas of the ordinary countryside and to use them as pilot areas to demonstrate what can be done under good leadership to raise standards of agricultural production and rural life, and above all to do this by getting the rural communities to do the great part of the required work themselves.

The programme envisages 55 Community Development Projects, each of which will contain about 300 villages with a cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of 200,000 to 300,000. This first stage therefore, will affect a population of about 15 million. It is proposed to expand from this in later stages.

This part of the programme was only launched in October and so, at the time of my visit, it was too early to get convincing evidence about its progress. I heard conflicting stories about the first results. Members of the Planning Commission in Delhi were favourably impressed by the reports they were getting about the response of the villages in many districts. In other quarters I encountered more scepticism. I had no opportunity to form my own judgment. Whatever the truth about the first results may be, there can be no doubt that this part of the programme needs to be supported by a great wave of public enthusiasm. Everyone should be interested.

I specially urged that industrialists should take active steps to encourage work on this part of the programme, if only in their own interest since their markets depend on increasing the purchasing power in the rural areas. I ventured to make two suggestions. The first was that a few

wealthy business men should finance a training centre for village leaders. At present the main training centre is financed by the Ford Foundation of America. The second was that in each of India's great industrial centres (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kanipur, Ahmedabad, etc.) a group of industrialists should subscribe funds and that this group in each area should start a Community Development Centre as a supplement to what the Government are doing. That would be a grand example. It would give a spur to the whole programme. I understood from my conversations in Delhi that co-operative action on these lines would be welcomed by the Government and one industrialist—Mr. G. D. Birla—told me that he would himself carry out my suggestion. I hope others will follow.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

Turning now to the field of Industrial Development. I want to concentrate on three points: (i) The *scale* of expansion which must be envisaged; (ii) The need to create the right relations between Private Enterprise and Government; (iii) The need to create satisfactory human relations within Industry and, to that end, to build up a sound responsible Trade Union organisation.

Although, as I have argued, the first five years are to be regarded as no more than a period of *preparation* for a full industrial expansion, nevertheless the scale of what will be ultimately required must be appreciated and prepared for now. Looking at industrial expansion as a means for providing fruitful employment for the people the governing factor is, as mentioned earlier the increase of population at the annual rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions. There is no room to absorb more workers in agriculture and that, therefore, the *working part* of the annual increase must either go into manufacturing industry or tertiary employment of some kind. The question is what proportion of the $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions will have to find employment in industry. I do not feel qualified without much further study to attempt any precise answer to this question. What does seem to me clear is that the number will be so great as to necessitate a scale of expansion much greater than anything visualized in contemporary discussion.

In the United Kingdom, where the "working population" is now about 46 per cent of the total manufacturing industry, together with mining and agriculture, employ about $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the people. Taking into account the fact that India has an enormous leeway to make up in attaining a fair proportion of industrial employment, is it unreasonable to suggest that, when the period of full industrial expansion is reached, industrial employment ought to be found for about 20 per cent of the

annual population increment—say 800,000 annually. Even if the figure is no more than half of that the capital required for industrial plant will be enormous.*

NEED FOR EXTERNAL CAPITAL

This conclusion brings me again to the point that India will not be able from her internal resources to provide all the capital required. For any adequate development there will be a need for a very large influx of external capital. The countries capable of supplying this capital must appreciate the need, and the Indian Government must on their side create a climate favourable to the process. The Government can legitimately require to be satisfied that external capital investment shall work to the true benefit of India. An important practical question is how to devise means for satisfying this condition without creating deterrents to external investment. The need for external aid will be greatest in the earlier stages of industrial expansion. The Plan contemplates that, at the start, India will be able to set aside no more than 5 per cent of the national income for capital formation, but that this proportion will get steadily larger as the national income is increased by the working of the Plan. That is a realistic appreciation. If only India can be started on an upward spiral of development this upward move should proceed at an accelerating rate. The ultimate prospects are vast. Indian industry with a home market of 360 millions (steadily increasing) has the greatest opportunities in the world, if only the purchasing power of those millions can be put on to a rising grade by their own efforts. But the process must get some boost at the start; otherwise it will go too slowly. This boost can only come from external capital. There is no escape from the conclusion that in the early stages a substantial inflow of external capital will be needed. This does not exclude accepting a second main conclusion, namely that, for her full development, India will need to develop her own capital goods industries.

THE FUNCTION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

I have explained how the Plan relies for industrial development partly on Government projects (the public sector) but mainly on private enterprise. The Government projects are indeed an important element with their provision for an expenditure of Rs. 173 crores (£130 million) in the first five years, and there are many points to note about this part

*The summary of the Five Year Plan estimates (p. 134) that employment in industry will be found for an additional 400,000 every year; but I find it very difficult to see how this can be done with the limited amount of capital expenditure on industry contemplated in the Plan.

of the programme, particularly the need to find the right form of direction for the great State-owned undertakings (such as Chittaranjan, Sindri, etc.), the right methods for some kind of efficiency audit, and the right way to bring the criticism of an enlightened public opinion to bear upon their operation. In respect of satisfactory development of industry in the private sector one comes to a crucial question for India—how to create the right kind of co-operation between Government and private enterprise. Although the Plan leaves the main field of industrial development to private enterprise, the Government maintain extensive and all-pervading powers of control. This cannot work satisfactorily unless a harmonious system of collaboration can be developed. There can be no such collaboration unless there is mutual confidence. Here there is certainly room for improvement. I will not attempt to apportion the blame. Some very good work has been done by some firms; some bad things have been done by others; Government action has not always been helpful. There are duties on both sides to work for improvement; but, as I see it, the onus is on those engaged in private enterprise to prove that they deserve the confidence of Government and public opinion.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

Private enterprise cannot hope to survive in modern conditions and in an educated democracy unless it can convince public opinion that it is serving the public interest in the sense that it is carrying out the necessary function of production more efficiently than any possible alternative system. I speak as one who believes that it *can* fulfil this condition, but only if it handles all its operations with this need constantly in mind. I must express the further belief that the Government of India is right in deciding to leave a great part of the task to private enterprise. There are powerful critics in India who argue that the Plan falls neatly between two stools and that planned economic development can only succeed if the Government has complete control of all the resources for investment, and they point to the examples of Russia and China. But India is a country in which the ruthless methods of Russia could never be accepted or work successfully. Nevertheless, the fact that such opinions are held and that the Congress Party is essentially a left-wing party makes it all the more necessary that leaders of private enterprise should accept a high conception of their role and recognize that if they adopt practices which lay them open to legitimate public criticism they may create intolerable difficulties for Ministers of the present Government who are trying to pursue policies of moderation and leave scope for free enterprise.

There is no simple answer to my question "What can private enterprise do to earn the confidence of the Government and public opinion?"

but a combination of a number of steps might gradually have considerable effect. They include a high standard of managerial efficiency in all grades; educative publicity about financial results and a fair basis of distribution; action by big industry in the public interest in such matters as encouraging the development of small industries; a proper interpretation of the functions of industrial associations; and finally encouragement for the building up of responsible Trade Unions.

It is a commonplace to say that there can be no satisfactory industrial development unless human relations in industry are satisfactory, unless there is a general will to work and a readiness on the part of employers to recognize their obligation to pay adequate wages and, on the part of the workers, to realize that the level of wages must be related to the work effort and to the productivity of labour. One of the greatest needs in India to-day is the growth of a responsible Trade Union movement. There is a long way to go before this is achieved; but, on the other hand, I saw signs which justify me in expressing the view that a hopeful start has been made. Here is a field in which there is room for much helpful collaboration between this country and India. The value of this is recognized by the Trade Union movement in both countries and I can only express the hope that the British T.U.C. will do its utmost to develop effective collaboration.

THE HUMAN SIDE OF THE PROBLEMS

I have sketched briefly some of the main features in India's economic position and problems. But behind them lie many implications in the field of human problems. The essential point is this. For the Indian people their bare living is at stake. The problem of improving material production must so dominate all activities as to set the whole pattern of their culture and their society. I believe this is equally true of our own country to-day. For both of us there is a need for the right outlook on productive work. This must be seen, not as a mere sordid money-making business. People must see in productive work, including manual work, opportunities for personal achievement and public service, just as honourable as can be found in any other form of activity. Both our countries need the best qualities of intelligence, education and character to go into this work. And they need it for a double purpose, first for the sake of efficiency of the work, and secondly—and this in a way is even more important—so as to ensure that the work is handled in a way which affords the basis for worthy human lives. To quote words which I used in India:

"Both India and Britain need to-day to become working communities and to be guided by a philosophy of life which sees in work well done the surest foundation for human happiness."

This conception has many implications of which some of the most important are in the field of education. There is a growing feeling in India that their educational system is ill-adapted to the current needs of their society. The increasing problem of the educated unemployed in India is but one symptom of this. Without taking a narrow vocational conception of education one can surely urge that education should be a preparation for life in the sense of giving young people a true sense of values and of preparing them to realize their best qualities in the actual conditions in which they will have to live and work and earn their living. And as the vast majority will have to spend their lives in manual work of some kind the system of education must take that into account.

All these points are recognized in the report of the Five Year Plan and it contains one interesting feature stated in a passage to which, incidentally, the Prime Minister called my special attention.

"The Plan provides Rs. 1 crore for youth camps and labour service for students. It is proposed that students between the ages of 18 and 22, except when they are exempted on medical grounds, should devote a period to disciplined national service. This would help in their development as workers and citizens. In the present system of education manual work finds scarcely any place and this has important consequences for national development. It is, therefore, proposed that while some manual work should be encouraged as a daily routine, at some stage during the course of education, a period which may extend from six months to a year should be spent in manual activity. This could be organized, for instance, in relation to community projects, irrigation works, roads, slum improvements, sanitation projects, etc. The significance of labour service will increase in the measure in which it is related to the real needs of the community for, in turn, it will help to create an emotional awareness among students for tasks of national reconstruction. It is proposed that a beginning should be made with small groups, for instance students taking the Master's degree, and for periods varying from three to six months. As experience is gained and more funds become available, the scheme could be expanded."

I find myself in complete agreement with this idea. My only comment is that I should like to have seen the proposals for action framed in a less tentative and cautious way.

HOW CAN BRITAIN HELP

Accordingly I should like to end by considering what we in Britain can do to make the Plan a success. Looking round the world to-day it is difficult to think of anything which matters more than that India should find a way to social stability and economic prosperity. An obvious first question is what part the United Kingdom can play in meeting India's need for external capital. Here, as I have noted, this country has already played an important part in the handling of the sterling balances.*

*It should be appreciated too that the U.K. has enabled India as a member of the sterling area to have access to large dollar reserves. In this connexion there is an interesting passage in the report "The Economic Survey of Europe since the War" which has just been published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. This report comments on "the continued readiness of Britain to let capital move to the independent members" (of the sterling area), "made possible by strict economies in its own use of dollars, by the availability of dollar surpluses earned by the Colonial Members and by the dollar assistance supplied so far by the United States to Britain."

Beyond this the Government has also undertaken commitments, chiefly for technical aid, under the Colombo Plan.

External capital for industrial equipment can come to India mainly in three different ways: 1st: loans or grants from Government to Governments. 2nd: capital supplied through specially created agencies supported by Governments. 3rd: private venture capital.

Another and perhaps more significant line of distinction is between (a) external capital loaned or granted to Indian interests and (b) capital which comes in to India through the starting of manufacturing or other businesses in India by firms from other countries. It is the entry of external capital in the latter form which attracts most political attention. It is, moreover, in this kind of process that Britain is best qualified to play a special part. The long connexions between Britain and India have built up in a special way a mutual understanding of each other's ways. I believe that there is now a great opportunity to develop this kind of connexion beneficially to both countries.

BRITISH AND INDIAN ENTERPRISE

I believe in fact that nothing can be more helpful to Indian industrial development than to have the best of our British industrial concerns bringing in their "know-how" as well as their capital and working in India side by side with Indian industrialists. The question is how this process can be carried out to the maximum benefit of India. British concerns must recognize that it is legitimate for Indians to ask this question, while, at the same time, they themselves can legitimately ask for conditions which will ensure for them adequate freedom of action and an adequate commercial return. There need be no conflict between the two requirements: indeed the whole process can have no enduring success unless it is mutually beneficial. Of course when I touch on these matters I am brought into a field of many controversial questions which I cannot now discuss—questions of "Indianization" of management, of Indian capital participation and so on.

What I do want to urge is that the present occasion, when India is embarking on a great new phase of industrial development, is one for taking stock of the position and for having a frank discussion of how the process can be handled so as to provide the best opportunities for fruitful expansion in a way which will advance India's true interests.

I believe it would be valuable if the Government of India would arrange a conference with British representatives on the matter, for it needs further exploration. I do *not* believe that Indian interests are likely to be best served by the imposition of rigid regulations, for example the

prescription of a fixed percentage of Indian personnel to be appointed to managerial posts or fixed percentages of Indian capital to be employed. I believe that something more flexible is required, since conditions and the pace at which changes can be made vary so much in different cases. What is ultimately desirable may not be immediately practicable, and there are all sorts of ways, difficult to cover by regulations, by which the true advancement of Indian interests can be achieved. It is the spirit of the arrangements which matters. That spirit must be one of doing the utmost to open opportunities for the advancement of Indian interests by collaborating with the Indian Government in their plans for economic progress and by creating opportunities for the training of Indian personnel. Every British concern working in India should be asking itself every day "Are we doing the maximum possible in these directions?" Of special importance are the arrangements on the human side—the opportunities provided for training Indian personnel both on the work in India and above all by bringing Indians over to this country to get experience here.

AN INDIAN DEVELOPEMENT CORPORATION

Private capital provided in this way cannot be enough to cover industrial development on a scale which I have envisaged as necessary. The resources of Government finances will be required. Can British public finances meet this need either directly or through a Commonwealth Finance Corporation such as was suggested at the December Commonwealth Conference? While I was in India I found interest in the idea of such a Corporation and a hope was expressed that support for India's development might come through such an agency. This indeed is a hope worth pursuing; but it is necessary to face realities, and some special agency for meeting India's needs will be required. If industrial expansion in India is to be on the scale envisaged, then it will require more than British resources alone can supply. As to what British resources will be able to do, I take no pessimistic view because I believe that Britain will in due course, after present strains have been met, move back to the position of being a great external investor. I believe further that Britain will be better able than any other country to handle such a process on sound lines in partnership with India. But there can be no evading the realities. In present circumstances the United States is the one country which has available capital resources on the required scale. But, even if the United States accepts the policy of providing capital on a large scale for under-developed countries, will American public opinion support this policy without demanding the imposition of conditions to ensure

that the money is properly spent? And can such conditions be devised in such a way as to be tolerable to public opinion in a country like India? There are clearly difficulties here. I throw out the suggestion that the difficulties could best be overcome and the potential strength of the countries concerned could best be mobilized if there were to be set up an Indian Development Corporation for which the finance would be provided jointly by the U.S.A. and the U.K. and which would be governed by a Board of Directors composed of American, British and Indian members. I realize the difficulties, but this seems to me obviously to offer the best way for solving these problems and I can at least have the advantage of carrying no sort of official responsibility to throw out ideas of this kind!

Apart from the direct material help I have suggested, there are, as already indicated, many ways in which Britain can help India's economic development. They include—the provision of facilities for training; advice from the British Trade Unions; exchange of experience on such matters as education, training and selection for all the different kinds of work involved in industrial enterprise, as well as in the handling of human relations in industry and in developing what I can describe broadly as methods of “industrial democracy.” On all these matters there have been interesting developments during the last years in Britain and I believe that our experience here is likely to be more readily applicable to India's conditions than experience in the United States or other countries. I urge most strongly that we in this country should take an active interest in what is happening in India and be at every point ready to respond when help is asked for.

A COMMON PURPOSE

Finally, looking beyond these matters, I believe that there is one even more significant way in which we can help each other and that is by each of us making a success of our own form of society. Both countries are striving to develop a system which aims at using central direction for the sake of a clearly conceived national purpose, while at the same time preserving scope for individual enterprise and initiative. For both of us success depends on two things—first the extent to which central direction can be given without imposing over-centralized rigid controls, and, secondly, the extent to which individual enterprise and initiative is ready of its own free will to work for the national purpose. We are both seeking a middle way between two extremes on either side. I believe profoundly it is the right way—the way which offers the best hope for true progress in the modern world.

We are both seeking too to preserve a right scale of values and to put material production in its proper place, *not* as an end in itself but merely as one of the conditions for true social progress. So I will venture in conclusion to record a reflection in words which I used in India.

We in Britain have no longer the leadership in power and wealth which marked our position in the past, but, looking back over the 19th century, I believe it was only partly because of our power and wealth that our ideas and systems had such an influence on the world. It was also because of the very vigour of those ideas and the intensity of the life which produced them.

Looking around to-day it seems to me that a new path of opportunity is opening up. I believe that if we in Britain can find a way of sympathetic collaboration with the new Independent India, if working as friends together, interchanging our ideas, and sharing our ideals for human liberty and spiritual values, we can together find workable solutions for the material problems of our times, then we can build something quite new in human history and influence the civilisation of the whole world—a world in which the old racial divisions will be forever gone. That is a chance which our past history—whatever faults and errors it may contain has given us. Let us not throw that chance away.

PRESSURE OF POPULATION

The CHAIRMAN said that he was quite sure those present would agree that the paper had revealed a most penetrating understanding of the problems involved, and had put forward a number of ideas which bore very careful contemplation. He himself had had the privilege of a preview of the paper which Sir George Schuster had read, and he looked forward again to reading it in print because it contained so much “meat” that he found it difficult to grasp in the course of a spoken lecture. He thought it contained very important “meat,” and he trusted it would be read by many of those who were in a position to help in solving the difficult problems that confronted India at the present time.

He desired to say just this, that the whole question of pressure of population in the south-east Asia area, and the solution—if a solution could be found—of its food and livelihood problems, was to his mind a matter of the greatest importance to the whole free world. If they failed to assist in the solution of the population pressure problems of the south-east Asia area, that area might be lost to the free world. He recommended strongly that this paper should be read by all those to whom these problems of South East Asia are of importance.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Sir CECIL KISCH said that it gave him very great pleasure to be present that afternoon because he had known Sir George Schuster for a long time and had always admired the qualities of vision and sympathy with which he approached the problems of other people whose standard of living was less satisfactory than our own. Those qualities were outstanding in the address he had delivered on this occasion, and he would like to thank Sir George for his careful analysis so eloquently expressed.

He wanted to put a question and to make a comment. He thought Sir George Schuster had said that the number of Indian workers on the land had more or less reached saturation point. But if the population went up by approximately fifty million in ten years must one allow for a substantial influx of fresh labour into agriculture? That was the most important factor. The development of agriculture and increased yield of food remained the great necessity. In spite of the importance of industry, the need for higher productivity per acre was likely to remain dominant for years. Therefore the progressive increase of the area under plough must be, as far as one could judge, the first point on which efforts should be concentrated. That was a very important point because there were other food producing countries which were falling short of what was expected of them in the agricultural field. This was likely to increase the difficulty of making up for domestic shortages by imports and prices might move adversely for importers. In the case of countries which were largely agricultural producers one ought therefore to do everything one could, by scientific methods, mechanization, fertilizers, etc., to keep the trend of production always moving upwards.

The other point concerned the difficult question of saving. He had had a good deal to do with this question in the last year or so. Sir George had had great experience of Africa as well as of Asia. In all under-developed countries one found the shortage of investment. The difficulty lay largely in the fact that this country, which had always been the main supplier of capital for the Commonwealth and should continue to be so, had not enough capital for its own essential needs. The British economy had to be further strengthened. Capital could not be created by new organizations or institutions which were useful as channels. The growth of capital required increasing production and savings. The first requisite was that this country should get back to the solid economy it used to have. India, he knew, was endeavouring to restrict its consumption in order to produce some percentage of the capital requirements under the development Plan. But the maintenance of a sound internal economy was the first necessity there as here. He would suggest that with the help of this country and the United States, which, he hoped, would take a big part in this business, much might be done to meet the growing needs of India for capital. There was much more he could say, but he contented himself with those two points.

SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER said that to reply fully would land him in some very complex and controversial questions. He agreed that it was possible to envisage developments of which the immediate effect might be to absorb additional numbers in agricultural work in India. As a matter

of fact, the Five Year Plan Report estimated that, with the development of irrigation projects and so on, a considerable amount of agricultural employment would be provided. But he would come back to his much over-simplified statement of the position as essentially correct—that, taking Indian agriculture as a whole, if one was going to move towards more effective methods of agricultural production the need was really for fewer people on the land than at present. One of the troubles in India arose from the number of excessively small holdings. If India was to achieve a properly balanced economy, with rising standards of living, then industrial expansion must take place on a scale greater than anything contemplated at present.

Sir Cecil Kisch had seemed to argue that the one essential was to create generally sound economic conditions, and that then adequate and healthy industrial development would automatically follow. Of course it was important to create sound economic conditions; but in the face of problems such as confronted India some special action was necessary. He did not think that merely putting the normal economic processes right was going to meet the need. India had already passed through appalling difficult problems with great credit, and those which lay before them were not to be solved by normal day-to-day routine. A different kind of tempo was necessary.

Mr. PHILLIPS PRICE, MP, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that he had known Sir George for many years. They had been colleagues in the House of Commons together. Although Sir George was not now in the House he was quite obviously doing good and important work. He had touched upon some most vital questions on the relations between the industrial advanced civilizations of Europe and the ancient civilizations of Asia for which this country had been for many decades responsible and which were now managing for themselves. He echoed what Sir George had said, that they must do their best to help them. It was an honourable duty. They wanted more capital and that could only be found by saving. We had not gone far enough in this problem of sufficient saving to help the Colonies and Dominions in the way we should all want to do. He felt that India was the key country in southern Asia, and we were now faced with the task of trying to help a country to solve its economic problems. The ancient civilization and culture of India was so hostile to the genius of Russian Communism that there at any rate we had a sound psychological pillar. Could we now help to buttress it with a sound economy?

The Indian Student

Abroad

By A. M. d'ROZARIO, PHD (CAME.)

A JOINT MEETING of the Association and the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.1, on Wednesday, 11th February, when a lecture entitled "The Indian Student Abroad" was given by Mr. A. M. d'ROZARIO, PHD (Camb.), Secretary of the Education Department of the High Commissioner for India.

Sir JOHN SARGENT, CIE, presided and said that the subject of the paper was not only very interesting but also very important in many ways. If an Indian student or any other foreign student felt upon arrival in this country that he was welcome, it was one of the best gestures of friendship he could possibly experience, and, conversely, if he did not feel welcome, his feelings were correspondingly depressed.

There were probably few people in the world who had had a closer acquaintance with, or possessed a greater knowledge of, this particular matter during the past eight or nine years than Dr. d'Rozario. He was one of the devoted band in Delhi in 1944 who tackled the very exacting administrative operation connected with the first award of five or six hundred Government of India technical scholarships.

The Chairman said he did not know how often Dr. d'Rozario had worked into the small hours on that business, but he used to be apprehensive that the members of the Department themselves would break down and go on sick leave! Since that time, Dr. d'Rozario had coped with this problem in the United States and was now "head on" with it in London. They could all, therefore, expect to hear as lucid and authoritative a statement on this subject as anyone could wish for. (Applause).

Dr. A. M. d'ROZARIO said: In the course of one paper it is not possible to deal with my subject in detail. I shall, therefore, briefly treat it under the following three main heads: (a) History and organization; (b) some aspects of our work; and (c) general remarks and conclusions.

A Central Bureau of Information was started in 1909 at the India Office. Its functions was to provide information on educational matters to Indian students and their parents; to furnish the students with reference and certificates when required by the institutions; to consider the cases where regulations of British universities and other academic bodies

imposed hardship upon Indian students; to publish periodically a handbook of information relating to academic and technical education in the U.K., and to keep a list of lodgings.

In 1912, the Central Information Bureau was converted into the Indian Students' Department, and in 1920 the department was transferred from the control of the Secretary of State for India to that of the newly appointed High Commissioner for India. The department came to an end in 1925, when the Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the Education Department.

I have not been able to get information regarding the strength of the Education Department in its first five years. During 1930/44 the department had 11 officers, consisting of a Secretary, five education officers and five advisers at the following universities—Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester and Oxford. There was a slight change in the set-up in 1944. In 1948 the department was re-organized and the strength was increased to 17. The posts of Advisers were abolished and all officers were stationed at headquarters. To-day the sanctioned strength is 13 officers.

GROWTH OF THE DEPARTMENT

For the purpose of evaluating the quantity of work, the following figures are indicative, they begin from 1930, earlier figures not being available.

		<i>No. of students</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Issues</i>	<i>Interviews</i>
1930 ...	...	2,000	18,000	19,000	5,000
1935 ...	...	1,500	15,000	17,000	5,400
1940 ...	...	?	7,700	7,400	1,600
1946 ...	...	1,900	25,000	27,300	9,600
1950 ...	...	2,750	39,000	35,000	9,100

Since 1950 the volume of work has steadily increased. It will be seen that during the second world war years there was a considerable fall in the number of students. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities the number of students began to increase again. In 1945 the Government of India launched their Overseas Scholarships Scheme. This scheme operated for three years and in 1947/1948 there were over 600 Government scholars studying in the U.K. In 1949, the scheme was modified and fewer scholars were selected against definite appointments, and not anticipated appointments, as under the old scheme. Hence there is no possibility of a scholar remaining unemployed after return, as was the danger under the old arrangements.

P R E S E N T N U M B E R O F S T U D E N T S

There are at present about 2,900 Indian students in the U.K. Of these about 1,700 are registered at the universities and other educational institutions. In London alone there are 712 following academic courses, and the rest are at Oxford, Cambridge, other provincial centres and in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The remaining students are engaged in learning professions like law, accountancy, banking, medicine, and in obtaining practical experience in firms, workshops and laboratories. Engineering and medicine are the subjects attracting the largest number of students, those studying the former being about 350 and the latter about 600. We have some 250 women students, the majority of whom are studying medicine, nursing and education.

Before the second world war, Indian students came to study varied subjects as at present, but there was much concentration on the Bar, Arts and preparation for the I.C.S. There is a growing tendency to-day to study science and technological subjects. Secondly, while at one time the number of Government scholars was large—I have already stated that at one stage it was over 600. Now we have only about 150 while the number of private students is on the increase. It is a healthy sign that more and more students are now relying on their own resources.

A D M I S S I O N S A N D W E L F A R E

The Education Department in the High Commission is responsible for two major functions—(1) to secure admissions; (2) to attend to the welfare of the students. In regard to the former we have applications through the Government of India, State Governments, universities' information bureaux in India, and also direct from candidates. The securing of admission is still a difficult task. Competition for vacancies in the Universities, colleges and firms is more severe than ever. The places available are limited in relation to the tremendous demand. Nevertheless, I am glad to say that institutions and firms have shown unfailing co-operation and goodwill in accommodating a considerable number of students.

The welfare side of our work relates mainly to reception and accommodation, health, finance and passages. Arrangements are made to receive all those students who inform us about their arrival in advance. We also arrange temporary accommodation for them and, later, we help them to secure permanent accommodation in accordance with their needs. Cases of illness are brought to the attention of our Medical Adviser, and if the illness is of a serious nature, the guardian is informed and sent

medical reports. Periodic visits are also made by a member of our staff. When we are approached for financial assistance, each case is examined on its merits and, where necessary, aid on a loan basis is given. Finally, we help students in securing pasagess to India or the U.S.A. as the case may be.

IMAGINATION, TACT, AND PATIENCE

Coming to the last section of my talk, I would point out that the work which appears quite simple, requires for its proper handling, imagination, tact and a great deal of patience and perseverance. Most student problems have to be seen firstly from the students' angle, and then that of the administration, for their proper solution. For example, take the case of admissions. The number of seats available is not the only limiting factor. The bulk of the students wish to be admitted to a selected number of institutions only. Sometimes a student wishes to change the subject or institution after arrival. A number of students arrive in the U.K. without previously securing admission. Some arrive after the term has started and find that no institution is willing to accept them. Again, sometimes a candidate has himself applied to several institutions and also made an application to the Department without informing us of his action. This results in creating confusion and sometimes an embarrassing situation. Finally, some students, lacking the minimum entrance qualifications, arrive in the U.K. unannounced. There are others who come here for qualifications which can be obtained in India, or for those which are not recognized here.

The question of accommodation, as most of my friends present know, is a difficult one. It is not only the student community that is faced with it, but everybody living in the U.K. The amount of room available in hotels, lodging houses, students' bureaux, hostels, etc. is not sufficient to meet the needs of all students. Parents and friends at home in India naturally desire that their wards should live with "families" as before the second world war. Because of shortage of household help families are reluctant to take people to stay with them. This is particularly so in London and it is the exception rather than the rule that a student can arrange to live with a family, in the old sense. One has not only to see that the accommodation is within easy proximity of the institution where the student attends, but also that it is suitable in other respects, and is reasonably economical. Thus, for securing accommodation which is acceptable to a student, one has to go on constantly trying.

From the foregoing account you will see that the task of the Education Department is not merely to study rules and regulations pertaining to

universities, but also to deal with individual cases from the time of a student's arrival in the U.K. to the time of his departure. In several cases it ceases to be a purely educational problem and becomes social and personal also.

The question may be asked "Why do such a large number of Indian students come for overseas studies, and apart from their academic interests how can they help their country and the countries of their sojourn?" There are about 2,900 in the U.K., 1,500 in the U.S.A., over 100 in West Germany (where the number is likely to go up to about 300 very soon) about 80 in France and Italy and so on. Why do the Government of India provide currency facilities on a fairly reasonable scale, for overseas training of our students? To my mind there are three main reasons: (1) The students come overseas to acquire qualifications for their own benefit; (2) the qualifications acquired are of benefit to our country in its development programme, and (3) the students generally come here at an age when their ideas are not fixed. They are open to correction and modification. They promote understanding and goodwill between their own land and the country where they study. They bring to the people among whom they study a culture, which I am sure, you all admire, and in return when they go back they tell our people at home what they found and learned abroad.

The problem of human relationships is of greater importance to-day than it has ever been before. I am sure there are people in every country desiring friendship and understanding—no matter what their political views may be. I am confident that the students have a great part to play, and are playing in promoting the prosperity and happiness of the whole human race.

SIR JOHN SARGENT'S VIEWS

The CHAIRMAN, said he had the happy feeling that he had not been wrong in forecasting an authoritative, interesting and very clear talk from Dr. d'Rozario on this important subject. One of the points the lecture had made particularly clear was that the provision of suitable accommodation for students was a difficulty which was being handled with the greatest tact and sympathy. He knew that would be so for as long as Dr. d'Rozario was in charge.

One or two of the points made in the address had awakened in his mind rather vivid memories of the problems that had been faced during his last years in India, when many people did their best under very difficult circumstances for the great flood of students that went overseas at the end of the war. Some of the students had not always appreciated what

was being done for them. He would always remember going back to India after a fairly prolonged tour of Britain, the United States and elsewhere, at the end of 1944 and being told that the Government of India had decided in their wisdom to award 500 technical scholarships—a number that was later increased to 600—for students who were expected to fill key posts in the important schemes for post-war reconstruction, which were then in preparation. He was told that this rather large and difficult baby was to be handed over to the Education Department. In other words, that Department would have to fill the 500 or 600 places in a way which would commend itself to public opinion. The task was not limited to the mere selection of 500 or 600 students, because the Department was told to have due regard to the community ratios. Moreover, about half the scholarships had to be awarded on the recommendations of the then provincial Governments and some of the provincial Governments had rather curious ideas as to the criteria for selection.

About two years ago, at a similar meeting, a gentleman had got up and criticized the Government scheme on the grounds that a vast amount of money had been spent on sending abroad a large number of students, who, upon their return, could not be employed. The scheme, however, had not been quite as silly as that criticism suggested, because every scholarship had been awarded against a prospective vacancy, listed by the Departments of the Government of India or the provincial Governments in connexion with their reorganisation schemes.

It was quite true that the vacancies were “anticipated,” in the sense that they depended on the money being available in due course for the various schemes; by the time some of the students returned to India views with regard to reconstruction plans had changed. But it should be made clear that those responsible for administering the scheme had not been reckless enough to spend large sums of money or to imperil young men’s prospects by sending them abroad without the expectation that there would be key vacancies for them to fill when they returned. If plans were being made for expansion as distinct from merely maintaining the *status quo*, it was necessary to send people abroad for training against “anticipated” as distinct from existing vacancies, otherwise there could be no expansion. It would be interesting if the question of anticipated and actual vacancies could be dealt with in the reply to the discussion.

Another essential point, over which he had been inclined to change his mind, concerned the best way of accommodating foreign and especially Indian students upon their arrival in a strange country. The main point was that the student should be made from the beginning to feel as much at home as was possible under unusual climatic and other conditions. He had often wondered if the old idea that the ideal thing was to board

the student out in some nice English home or perhaps in a hostel was the best solution. The problem was different in the old days when many students came to this country whose fathers or uncles had been educated in England, and who, because they were quite familiar with Englishmen and met them frequently, did not feel so strange when they got here.

The new India was quite rightly trying to draw potential talent from all sections of the population and it therefore stood to reason that many students who came here had home backgrounds which might be extremely different from the sort of thing they found in this country.

While one should not under-estimate the importance of the Indian student learning to know the British and appreciate their way of life and experience their friendliness, the student's initiation here was in itself also important. Rather than have students plunged into a completely new environment, the Chairman said he would like to see them live under good conditions with their own friends for the first six months or nine months, and then be given the opportunity of experiencing life at first hand under English conditions or in the sort of international environment which was popular in American universities.

Bearing in mind all the curious local conventions a foreign student might bring with him, how strange he might well feel for his first few months in a different country. The main object after all was to make these people feel happy, but this did not necessarily mean that they should be isolated in a house in Gower Street.

RELATIONS WITH BRITISH STUDENTS

Lieut-General Sir THOMAS HUTTON said how extremely interesting he had found the observations of Dr. d'Rozario, which had brought him up to date with what had happened since the time when he was concerned in these matters himself. The Chairman's additional remarks had also been of great interest.

As regards the relationship between British and Indian students in universities, things no doubt had changed. The social structure and atmosphere of the British universities had changed enormously as a result of the award of Government scholarships to nearly all boys and girls of real ability from whatever homes they might come. Had it meant a closer and more friendly social relationship between the Indian and British students or was the relationship not as good as it used to be? In any development of this kind, it was most important that the Indian student should get to know and make friends with the right kind of British student and not the wrong kind.

To what extent was the Government of India and the Provincial Governments sending prospective Civil Servants (as they were still called), and officers of technical services, to undergo university and post-graduate training in this country? In the implementation of the many welfare schemes for health, education, employment and labour that had been developed, a good deal of experience had been derived from Western ideas as displayed in Britain and the United States. It was desirable that the Government of India and the States should endeavour to ensure that as many of their future officers as possible had the benefit of training in Britain, the United States or in other countries, where many of these things had been carried somewhat further than in India.

In the fighting services, advantage was being taken of sending junior officers over to this country to attend courses of every kind and description. This idea could be carried further and many of the young men who were going to become Civil Servants, etc., could gain valuable experience in Government offices here, just as trainee engineers gained practical experience in industry.

It was interesting to hear the observation that the majority of students were now relying on their own resources. There was probably nobody in the audience who would suggest that the Government of India could or should go to the extent of this country in providing Government grants for students, because obviously their conditions were different. At the same time, if the vast majority of students had to rely on their own resources, it seemed at any rate possible that some of the most brilliant young men in India might not get an opportunity to widen their horizons in other countries. Were there sufficient scholarships, Government bursaries and so on, to ensure that really brilliant men were not frustrated and kept back, thus missing opportunities of widening their knowledge in science or medicine?

FROM THE STUDENTS' STANDPOINT

Mr. R. M. BHANDARI (a new member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants) said that the address had been concerned mainly with the work of the Education Department of India House generally. The work done by different voluntary organizations for the welfare of Indian students deserved special mention. During his stay in this country of just over two years he had come into contact with some of them and he had nothing but praise for their very sincere and honest efforts to make the stay of Indian students in England more enjoyable and comfortable.

These organizations covered a wide range of activities, but concerned themselves mostly with welfare work. They dealt with lodgings—a

difficult problem—and the arrangement of receptions and meetings, to enable Indians to meet their British and other friends in England and so to foster a good understanding between them. In any welfare work the personal touch was an essential ingredient and it came naturally to voluntary organizations.

If the accommodation problem was handled properly it might be possible to get over it. Some organizations had tried to ease the situation by building and running hostels, though they were often criticized. These hostels were not made to be stayed in permanently; their purpose was to help in acclimatizing the incoming student to conditions of life in England before he was moved to join a family, and to provide a second place or home to which one could return in case of need.

He ventured on some constructive suggestions in relation to the problem of providing permanent and inexpensive accommodation. First, the importance of the problem could be impressed upon all concerned. Secondly, students already living with families could be encouraged to introduce those families to different organizations at the receptions they held. Also, students should be asked to pass on the names and addresses of their host families before returning to India.

The idea behind the receptions held at India House and elsewhere was very good, but it did not always work out too well. People attended such receptions, shook hands with a number of others, had a cup of tea, and went home feeling content that they had done their bit for Indo-British understanding and goodwill. Receptions provided spasmodic contacts which lacked continuity. It would help if students could meet more people of their own age so that their association with others entailed more than the discussion of trivialities.

These observations might sound critical, but the sincere intention behind them was to provoke thought, not anger.

VALUE OF THE HOSTELS

Dr. MALAIPERUMAN said that he was sure they all appreciated the official report that had just been given, so ably delivered and covering such a wide field. He was speaking as one of the voluntary workers engaged in the service and welfare of the Indian student in this country and in particular in the City of London.

It appeared that the Chairman had contradicted himself by saying on the one hand that when Indian students arrived they should be with their own countrymen, and then, on the other, by referring rather sarcastically to that place in Gower Street—of which all Indian students who had been associated with it in the last 30 years were proud. Such places were not

for the segregation of students, but for the provision of a temporary home for men who arrived here, sometimes at very short notice. The institution at Gower Street provided a club, a social and cultural centre for Indian students.

Indian students were told not to segregate themselves but to go and live among British people and British surroundings, but that was pious talk because for all practical purposes things did not work out that way. Owing to post-war conditions, students found it very difficult to get accommodation with families. There should not be confusion between living in the homes of landladies in and around London, which were run on a commercial basis, and residence in an English home. The few students who lived in English homes were the exceptions. That was why to-day the Government of India was spending more money on the welfare of students than ever before. But for some of the hostels and institutions provided, London would be a miserable place for many of them.

So far as contact with the people in this country was concerned, the initiative must come from the British. It was not for the students or anyone representing them to go round and ask or plead for invitations or contacts. Within the walls of a college the necessary contacts existed but, unfortunately, the opportunities for greater social contact were very few. The English were reserved and cold-blooded as a race and one could not expect the ice to be broken very easily. When the Indian student came to this country he was also reserved, and unless the initiative did come from the British it was not going to be easy to bring British and Indian students together.

Reference had been made in the talk to students who came with limited financial resources, or with no admission secured in this country, or after the start of term. Were any steps being taken to ensure that, before an Indian student was issued with a passport, he had adequate financial resources and all the other necessary arrangements were in order?

It seemed a real problem to arrange practical training for Indian students. Medical students were better off in this respect—more so than students of banking, accountancy and engineering. A lot could be done to help in this connexion by an organization with an influential membership. Some of the members of the East India Association could in fact help tackle this problem, because many of them had contacts with industry and commerce.

The CHAIRMAN said that apparently his inexperience at being on a platform had led him to give a wrong impression. He certainly did not wish to criticize in any way the Gower Street hostel, but only to refer to the fact that he had heard it described by Indians in India as a place where Indian students tended to go into a huddle by themselves.

THE RETURNED STUDENT

Mr. V. SUBRAHMANYAN said that he in recent years had something to do with sending out Indian students under the education scheme that had been referred to. There had been the problem of knowing what to do with these people upon their return to India, and he had dealt with at least a few hundred cases. But that problem in itself had not proved as difficult as the fact that many of the people who had been to this country or to other parts of the world were not really up to the mark. Some of them had had two or two-and-a-half year's training, and yet when it came to doing the job their knowledge and training and ability did not go deep enough, and they were not much better than the post-graduate students being turned out from some of India's own universities.

As had already been suggested, there was a need to give Indian students the right type of practical training, otherwise they went back to India thinking they were going to do something useful and they turned out to be failures. Those who came to learn a subject should specialize in it so that in their own sphere they would be thoroughly proficient and useful to their country.

Mr. LIONEL JARDINE said he felt that the previous speakers had made a challenge to the British, and particularly to the members of the East India Association, that they should make it their business to look after Indian students in this country. Certainly if the people in Britain did that they would derive an advantage from it. On the other hand, every Indian student over here was an ambassador for his country and, therefore, would surely have something more than the weather to talk about at a reception. There was in fact a great richness in India, which some people were only just realizing now that they had left that country and were meeting Indians in a socially intimate way—something for which they had not had time when in India.

INDIAN STUDENTS GOOD MIXERS

Mr. d'ROZARIO, in reply, said that from the information he had gained in this country it appeared that Indian students were good mixers and made friends and got on easily with their fellows. Many had told him that they had benefited not only academically but by making good friends of British, Colonial and other students. There were Indian students' bureaux at two centres in London as well as the Indian Students' Union, the Indian Student Hostel in Guildford Street and other student organizations in the U.K. Some useful work had been done in the way of forming contacts, but of course there was still room for improvement. It might

be added that recently an Indian debating team had come to the United Kingdom under the auspices of the National Union of Students and had toured nearly all the important universities. The reports that had appeared in various university journals had been encouraging.

In days gone by, the Gower Street hostel was the only one known in India and other institutions, such as the bureaux, were hardly known at all.

The overseas scholarship scheme of India was still operating in a modified form. Last year about 25 students were selected under it on an all-India basis by open competition. They had been selected in relation to definite posts. The remainder were selected from universities and Government Departments. It had to be remembered that India was already short of technical staff and could not spare them. There had been much criticism over the fact that students had been selected against anticipated and not actual appointments, but the fact that over 80 per cent of them had been employed, in spite of the many difficulties, was a good achievement.

The problem of students coming here who had not got the necessary background or qualifications or financial resources should be tackled in a social way rather than by the establishment of too many rules and regulations, and for this purpose a great deal of publicity was required in India. There was in India to-day a very keen desire for learning. Every Indian felt hungry for knowledge.

About 16 years ago a Handbook for Indian students was published, and a newly revised edition of it was now being printed and would be available in a month or two. When it was available, students in India would know what they must look forward to if they came here without proper arrangements having been made. Also overseas students information bureaux had been set up in India. The financial difficulties into which a student might get were not always apparent when he first arrived here but might occur later.

In the recent report of the Education Department, every aspect of the whole problem had been thoroughly dealt with. The report had been brought to the attention of the Government of India and it said what the Government should do.

The difficulty of providing practical training for Indian students certainly existed, but arrangements had been made to place about 600 of them with firms. The question of finding employment for students upon their return to India was being tackled by a Board on which sat representatives of every Ministry.

Mr. d'Rozario concluded by saying that his Department was always ready to help where possible, and if anyone had any suggestions to offer it would be glad to hear them and to give satisfactory replies.

Mr. ARTHUR C. C. HERVEY (late Indian Educational Service) in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Speaker, said he had been very struck by the enlightened policy of the Government of India in the years just before 1947 of sending here many students to prepare to take over higher posts. He had been more impressed by the fact that this policy had been carried on by successive Governments. Some of the difficulties that had occurred in placing students after their return were probably due to the fact that students were sent out under one Government and returned to find a totally different Government in authority.

Impressions of my Visit to India and Pakistan

By the Right Hon. HILARY MARQUAND, PC, MP

A JOINT MEETING of the Association with the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Friday, 15th May, 1953, when the Rt. Hon. Lord PETHICK-LAWRENCE presided.

Mr. MARQUAND said that he went to India, Ceylon and Pakistan at the invitation of the British Council. He would confine his remarks to India and Pakistan where he visited most of the larger cities and centres. He would say first of all very warmly and emphatically that he was greeted by great friendliness in both countries and was deeply touched by the welcome he received. It might have been rather warmer because he was a member of the Government in 1947 when independence was gained. The British withdrawal was achieved with mutual goodwill and had left behind feelings of friendship on both sides which were apparent everywhere. It would not be right, however, not to mention that in Pakistan one sometimes met forthright criticisms of the line of the frontier between that country and India and some of the blame for which was

attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the Government of Great Britain. It was immensely valuable for this country that there should be such general feeling.

It must be fostered and encouraged so that it will endure and if possible grow even stronger. Understanding could not be maintained between nations if there were not some means of communication between them, but the plain truth was that as a result of independence that means of communication, the English language, was going to be less powerful as time went on than it had been in the past. Both countries, very naturally (and one could not criticize them for it) had established their own national language and intended that the medium of instruction in the schools should be in their own local language, whatever that might be, so that children would be brought up knowing their own and the national language. If they were also taught English it would be of great advantage in fostering common understanding between us, but now English was being taught as a foreign language. He was much impressed by the work of the British Council in trying to maintain this common bond of understanding, and he would pay a warm tribute to the value of that work which reached strata of society never touched by diplomatic channels.

WELFARE PLANNING

His own training and experience had been that of an economist and naturally he was most concerned to find out all he could about the economic problem of the two countries and how they were tackling them. He had never dissociated economics from the social services and because he was Minister of Health in the late Labour Government a particular point was made of showing him hospitals and health centres, allowing him to meet doctors, Ministers of Health and administrators in health departments. They were anxious to obtain his advice on a great deal of what had been done and planned in the way of social services. He also saw something, not nearly as much as he would have liked, of economic developments.

Both India and Pakistan had proclaimed their intention of establishing a welfare state and of using the method which Sir Stafford Cripps used to call democratic economic planning to achieve it. They believed in central planning and had undertaken to plan economic development not only for an expansion of total wealth but for redistribution of wealth and an improvement of the lot of the poorer people in their community. That was the objective which they had set themselves. On the whole one had the impression—he would emphasize that it was only an impression—that Pakistan was relying more heavily upon the familiar

methods of capitalist enterprise than India, India was more socialistically minded than Pakistan. Both countries were undoubtedly determined to tackle their economic problems.

The basic problem was so large that it was frightening. Population was increasing faster than the means to feed it, both Pakistan and India were dependent for the maintenance of their population on imported food, although they were mainly agricultural countries, as was Ceylon. The increase in population was not due to any increase in the birth rate, it was due to the saving of life, to a reduction in the death rate, because of public services, of sanitation, prevention of disease, which had been rapidly accelerated by recent discoveries. The use of antibiotics though not so widespread as in western nations was playing its part in saving life, although the figures of infantile mortality were still tremendously high. The population last year increased by no less than 4 million people, far greater than the output of food grains upon which everybody in India depended.

AGRICULTURE COMES FIRST

There was abject poverty! whereas the average income in this country was £250, in India it was more like £20 per annum. There were millions upon millions of people living at a level of subsistence and nutrition so low that they were on the verge of starvation for most of the time. Famines occurred from time to time and were spoken of almost casually as we might talk about a snow storm or a flood, something which was startling but which did occur from time to time. The fact that more than half the population of the world was living at subsistence level and was in danger of disastrous famine was a basic world-wide problem.

Both countries were only too well aware of all this and both put agriculture in the first place in their five-year plans. It was tempting to an under-industrialized country to rapidly increase the amount of industry, seeing that during the last hundred years industry had gained power in the West, some industrialization was going on in both countries, but one must recognize the statesmanship with which this industrial demand had been curbed for the sake of agriculture. Much of that industrial development was designed to help agriculture. The provision of dams, the extension of railways or roads to enable the populations to get to the centres of production and to enable the crops to be efficiently handled and properly marketed, to raise the ability of the peasant in all sorts of ways to get more out of the land, were wisely planned. He thought that both countries had tended to plan beyond their means but India particularly had been wisely led. The plan had been revised and brought into closer touch with reality.

Pakistan was handicapped by a lack of skilled administrators and trained economists and statisticians but it had called to a heavy extent upon the services of the British Commonwealth and United Nations. Pakistan was the world's producer of jute and while the price was high was entitled to suppose she could afford to import large quantities of machinery for the building up of industry, construction of irrigation dams and the like, but the price of jute had fallen and Pakistan had to look again at her economic plan.

FAMILY PLANNING

Much had been done to assist the peasant cultivator and to improve community life, to rehabilitate village life and in this project the services of agriculturists and sociologists were used. A maternity centre was established here, a health centre or dispensary there, or even a hospital which served a wide area. Such things were not extravagances but an essential part of a plan because they gave earnest of the good intentions of the Government and proved to the people that if they co-operated they could get some immediate benefits. The people did care for better health, better provision for their children and better education. There was the undoubted fact that from these things deliberate family planning could come. The Indian Government had avoided family planning as part of its five year plan, to reduce the number of children born to the average mother to prevent the population outstripping continuously the means of subsistence.

The two countries had not overcome all the obstacles by any means but they were facing them, they were determined to tackle them, and he profoundly and fervently hoped that they would be successful.

Mr. RUSSA MEHTA spoke of the feeling of friendship for Britain and said that Indian industry would prefer to buy its machinery and other needs in this country if they could get delivery when required. This was not always possible. He also agreed that the question of birth control was a vital one, but he was not at all optimistic on methods of persuasion or legislation to enforce family planning. With regard to the question of language there was at first a tremendous feeling that India must have her own language but many of those who wanted to drive out English now were thinking otherwise. To get about from one place to another in India the easiest way was with the use of the universal language, English.

Lord BIRDWOOD said that in carrying out great irrigation and electrical schemes it was necessary for the authorities to gain the co-operation of

the people likely to be affected by them and some thought should be given to the best way of achieving this.

LORD HAILEY'S QUESTIONS

Lord HAILEY said that in the last Indian Budget there was a great deal of talk of deficiency financing. The plans on which India was engaged now would involve an expenditure of Rs. 2,000 million. Was this money to be obtained by a loan in India, or from the external world? Had India sufficient credit to enable her to obtain that amount of finance?

Did Mr. Marquand see any explanation of the curious position that India was now importing between 4 and 6 million tons of food grains a year whereas in former years she did not need to import more than 1½ million tons? Was there any explanation of why the Punjab which used to export 1½ millions tons of wheat to Karachi, now had to import it. Did he see anything of the plan to deal with the differences of opinion between Pakistan and India on the subject of the supply of canal water? Did Mr. Marquand actually see the working of the plans for improvement, the ability of the Governments concerned to indulge in some form of redistribution of land and to remove the fragmentation which had gone on for so long, to improve the system of land tenures and to inculcate in the people the impulse to personal effort which must be the real basis of all these material improvements?

MR. MARQUAND'S REPLY

Mr. MARQUAND said that Lord Hailey had raised some difficult questions and perhaps he could start where he left off. The question of the linking of the individual plans made from on high as it were and making the peasant a partner in the whole enterprise was being thought about very hard. Mr. Nehru was well aware of the importance of evoking the enthusiasm and the partnership of the people, and one had only to be in the country a few days to hear him speak on those lines.

With regard to the problem of the Punjab one of the answers was the prolonged drought which had resulted in many crop failures, and some of the irrigated areas had become water-logged. The area was irrigated by river water and in process of time constant irrigation had melted out the salt and brought it to the surface and it had spread out in great white sheets making any further production of crops quite impossible. This problem was being tackled in the new irrigating projects to prevent the seepage of water. He saw no evidence that there was a deliberate restriction of water supply by India to Pakistan. It was a vexed question and was being examined by neutral sources.

It was extremely difficult for the Indian Government to collect taxes and thus secure revenue for the state; the Indian Government was not entirely unwise in planning to undertake some of this necessary provision by deficient financing because of the race against time. So long as the deficit did not exceed the size of the sterling balances the net effect was not unduly inflationary. He was not alarmed unduly at the proposals.

Mrs. SAHANI said that it was true that a European would need the English language to pass through parts of India but a large population spoke Hindi. Indians were proud of their national language and it would develop in time without any disrespect to English.

On the proposal of Sir STANLEY REED a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Marquand by acclamation.

The Objects and Policy of the East India Association

(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of "the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore is continuing its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely:

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.

The Moral Re-Armament Tour in Asia

By Sir FRANCIS LOW

THE JANUARY issue of ASIAN REVIEW contained a report of a talk in October to members of the East India Association by Mr. R. O. Hicks on the then projected visit to Asia of Dr. Frank Buchman and a Moral Re-Armament team. This project originated with the Indian Minister of Planning, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, a firm believer in the movement, and it led to cordial invitations to Dr. Buchman to take his team not only to India but to Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan, Thailand, Malaya and Japan. In each case the invitations came either from the Governments of the countries concerned or from groups composed of Cabinet Ministers, industrialists and business men. Accounts of the visit and reports appearing in the local Press show that it has been a tremendous success. Dr. Buchman was asked to address not only public meetings but State Legislatures, and the Moral Re-Armament plays produced by the team attracted many thousands of spectators wherever they were shown.

The visit of Dr. Buchman and his team began with an Asian Assembly at Colombo which lasted from October 24 until November 2 of last year. In his cable of welcome the Hon. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, said: "The world sorely needs some uniting idea that can overarch differences and make peace permanent. I wish your movement the success it deserves." The Asian Assembly was attended by representatives of 32 nations, there being delegations from Korea, Japan, Thailand, Burma, India, Malaya, Australia, New Zealand and Papua. Members of the Ceylon Government took part in the meetings, while the Prime Minister and thirteen of his Cabinet colleagues attended the Moral Re-Armament plays which were performed nightly in the Regal Theatre. These plays were seen by at least 23,000 people in Colombo. Mass meetings were held for industrial workers and for workers in the villages, and at the invitation of the Minister of Food and Agriculture, Dr. Buchman addressed a thousand rice workers in the paddy fields. Other highlights of the visit were a reception for the visitors by the Prime Minister and a ceremony at the opening of the Senate. Buddhist priests opened an inner shrine at the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy. After the visit the Prime Minister and other national leaders cabled: "Ceylon is deeply grateful. We feel the hour calls for the continuance of this movement in Asia in the interest of unity, security and peace." In a later message to Dr. Buchman the Prime Minister said that his visit had "left an abiding impression in the hearts of the people of Ceylon."

At the conclusion of the Asian Assembly the party left for Bombay. Here they were officially welcomed by the Mayor and the Sheriff. Other formal functions included a reception at the Hanging Gardens attended by members of the State Government and many leading citizens, and a gala performance of the play "Jotham Valley" at which the Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, addressed the audience. Many meetings were held in various parts of the city, including one of 7,000 cotton textile workers at the Kamgar Maidan, where for the first time since India's independence both Congress and Socialist trade unionists showed a united front. Much interest was taken in the visit by the Bombay Press and two morning papers in English, the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Free Press Journal*, carried six-page Supplements on MRA.

The party left Bombay for Delhi at the end of November and were given a cordial welcome on arrival at the Indian capital, where Jaipur House was placed at their disposal during their stay. On December 4 Dr. Buchman was accorded the high honour of addressing a joint session of both Houses of Parliament from the Speaker's Chair in the House of the People. Later in the month the President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, received the whole team in the garden of his official residence, formerly known as Viceroy's House. Throughout the period of the visit Jaipur House was thronged by a stream of leaders in all walks of life, including Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, students and workers, industrial magnates and representatives of the fighting services. Meanwhile a ten-day Moral Re-Armament Assembly was held for Asian leaders and the MRA plays were shown nightly to packed houses in the Regal Theatre. At the final session of the Assembly Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Minister chiefly responsible for the Five Year Plan, said of the movement "It has given us a visual education in a way which will unite our people. We shall be defeated unless we can unite internally to tackle unemployment, poverty and want."

Dr. Buchman accepted an invitation from the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress Party to take his team and plays to the Party's Annual Congress at Hyderabad, attended by 200,000 people. The visitors had the unique experience of attending working sessions of the Congress, where they were the only non-Indians present. On one occasion the Congress adjourned its session for the presentation of the play "Jotham Valley" in an open air theatre to an audience estimated at 15,000.

The party next went to Madras, the chief city in an area where the Communists achieved a good deal of success in the first Indian General Elections under the new Constitution.

Dr. Buchman spoke at an official reception given by the Mayor, Shri T. Chengalvarayan, who declared "Your visit to this city has kindled

an almost slumbering moral consciousness in our people. MRA is not only a solution—it is our salvation.” The South Indian Film Industry built a special theatre for the presentation of the MRA plays, which were shown to audiences of 5,000 nightly. Meetings addressed by members of the team were held in the colleges of Madras University, where an opportunity was given by the University authorities to the students to meet the visitors. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lakshamaswamy Mudaliar, thanked the MRA force for the “great privilege they have given us by coming here. Before your visit my 23,000 students talked of little else but Communism; now the sole topic is MRA.”

After five weeks in Madras, a week in the aircraft centre of Bangalore and a further five days at Hyderabad, the party arrived in Calcutta on March 8. Here they spent another five weeks, meeting the Governor, the Chief Minister and members of his Cabinet, and members of the State Legislature. They were welcomed to the city by the Mayor; Dr. Buchman addressed the City Council, and a civic reception. But the most valuable feature of their visit was their contact with Shri Sibnath Banerjee, the President of the 800,000 strong Indian trade union, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, and his colleagues, who came daily to study MRA methods. At the end of a three-hour meeting of trade union and Socialist leaders the veteran Shri R. A. Mukerjee summed up the response of labour when he said: “This is not something that the West brings to the East or the East to the West, but a message that a man brings to a man.” At a packed meeting at the Grand Hotel on April 12 the Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, Shri S. K. Mukerjee, paid tribute to the lasting effects of the team’s visit. The Mayor of Calcutta said that Moral Re-Armament was showing a way out of the most difficult problems they were facing to-day. As at Madras, where the *Hindu* issued a special Supplement, several Calcutta papers published MRA numbers, among them the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Jugantar*, *Vishwanitra* and *Janasevak*.

Before visiting Western Pakistan the team made a trip to Kashmir, where they were received by the Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, who with members of his Government and Secretariat attended performances of the three MRA plays in Srinagar. In Karachi Dr. Buchman and his task force again had a warm welcome. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, spent three evenings with the team, and at the premiere performance of the plays the audience comprised members of the Cabinet, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy and Air Force, the Chief of Army Intelligence, the General Secretary of the World Muslim Conference, the General Secretary of the All Pakistan Youth Movement, the President of the All Pakistan Confederation of Labour and other trade union leaders.

In view of the quantities of Communist literature available in India at very low prices, it is interesting to know of the large and growing demand for Peter Howard's account of the progress of MRA entitled *The World Rebuilt*. The new handbook *Where Do We Go From Here?* is being translated into Tamil, Telugu, Kanārese and Malayalam, with a first impression of 400,000 copies. The Secretary of the Depressed Classes League has translated MRA pamphlets into Hindi.

Pakistan within the Comity of Free Nations

By H.E. Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI*

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PAKISTAN

THE SIGNIFICANCE of Pakistan within the comity of free nations of the world has been somewhat minimized by those who have not fully appreciated the rapid changes which are taking place in the world to-day, in particular in the Middle East and in South East Asia. If my address can, in some measure, give you even a slightly better picture of Pakistan and bring you nearer to its people—their problems, achievements, aims, and aspirations, I shall have accomplished a task dear to those who desire a healthier and closer co-operation between the free peoples of the world and especially between the various members of the Commonwealth.

The subject of my address is vast. The time at my disposal is so limited that I can do no more than give a cursory survey of it. This I regret, as my country is very close to my heart and I am always happy when asked to speak about it.

CENTURIES-OLD CIVILIZATION

As you are aware, Pakistan became an independent sovereign state on the 14th August, 1947. Though Pakistan is comparatively a new state, our civilization dates back many centuries. Our culture and civilization have often come into direct contact with yours of the West and each has influenced the other in more ways than one. Centuries ago, Pakistan had close relations with many countries of the world, particularly the Middle and the Far East. Happily these relations are

*Address given at Oxford on 30th March, 1953 to the Commonwealth and Empire—India, Pakistan, Ceylon Course No. 7 under the Ministry of Education.

being revived to-day. Pakistan derives its present strength and character not only from the ideology which came to it with Islam over twelve centuries ago but also from many older ideas and achievements of the pre-Islamic civilizations. But, the chief influence over the sub-continent has been that of Islam, which shaped the culture and customs of the people for a thousand years.

A RICH HERITAGE

Excavations show that Pakistan, with Egypt and Mesopotamia, was the centre of one of the oldest civilizations of the world. Remains of great archaeological interest have been found at Harappa, Mohenjo Daro, and at Taxilla. The remains at Taxilla are of four distinct civilizations; Greek, Scythian, Parthian, and Buddhist. These remains of older civilizations have been placed at 3,000 B.C. The territory which now constitutes West Pakistan, was the first homeland of the Ancient Aryans in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Pakistan has seen the Macedonian legions of Alexander the Great come and go. In their hey-day, Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Afghans came and settled here. One civilization after another flourished in this land and, with the passage of time, decayed. Their contributions form the rich heritage of Pakistan. But, new forces are at work to-day and within Pakistan itself immense changes are taking place. These necessarily will produce interesting results and thus add to the cultural, intellectual and material wealth of Pakistan.

RICH IN NATURAL RESOURCES

Pakistan comprises two parts, East and West, separated by about one thousand miles of Indian territory. East Pakistan borders on Burma. South East Asia is not only, perhaps, the richest area in the world in natural resources, but also of vital interest from the point of view of strategy. In this strategic sense it has great importance. South East Asia separates the Pacific from the Indian Ocean on which East Pakistan opens out. The last World War proved that the frontiers which separate Burma from East Pakistan do not constitute inseparable barriers. East Pakistan's strategic frontiers therefore lie further afield. From other points of view also the countries of South East Asia are of importance to Pakistan. Burma and Malaya are Indian Ocean countries and their defence is of consequence to Pakistan. It follows, therefore, that Pakistan's interests require that the territories of the countries of South East Asia must be inviolable. Pakistan must have full accord and understanding with this region and the countries which fringe it.



THE FATIMA JINNAH MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, LAHORE



A COTTON FIELD IN PAKISTAN

A SENSE OF COHESION

West Pakistan rubs shoulders with the Middle East and borders on that region surrounding the Persian Gulf where the greatest oil reserves are situated. The Middle East comprises the region stretching from the Egyptian frontier in the East, the Russo-Turkish frontier in the North to the Southern limits of Sudan in the South, and including among some other countries, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Trans-Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. A sense of cohesion in the vast region stretching from Pakistan to Egypt is steadily growing. Pakistan and the Middle East are faced with similar economic problems. The common strategic problems, geographical contiguity and ties of more or less homogeneous culture and unifying force of religion tend to draw them together. The reason why the Middle East looms increasingly important in world affairs is due to its strategic and geographical position. In addition to the oil reserves, it is the nerve centre of the all important mercantile traffic between the East and the West. Pakistan's geographical location, therefore, gives it a special strategic significance, both in the Middle East and in South East Asia. This simple geographical fact also gives Pakistan special responsibilities in the international sphere and has a bearing on its foreign relations. In its own interests and in the interests of peace in these regions Pakistan must be militarily, politically, and economically strong. We are naturally drawn closer to the Middle East and to the Muslim World in general. We seek closer relations with the Muslim countries, not with the object of working towards the establishment of a rival power bloc, but in the hope that we might thereby help to strengthen the forces of democracy and peace. I need hardly say that the same desire to collaborate inspires and holds the members of the Commonwealth together. This desire is naturally dictated by common interests. The Council of Europe and its constituent bodies show the same tendency among the countries of Western Europe. We are, however, not limiting our efforts at friendly collaboration in the international field only to Muslim countries. We desire closer relations with all friendly powers, whether they are inside the Commonwealth or outside it.

PAKISTAN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Both Britain and Pakistan belong to the Commonwealth of nations. In the uneasy world of to-day the Commonwealth is a unique institution and is a heartening factor. The Commonwealth is based on the willing assent and voluntary co-operation of its member nations, whom historical circumstances have brought together. They share certain ideals and

values of a democratic way of life. The elasticity of its structure has given it vitality and strength and made it possible for its members to function as a co-operative force, making for peace and orderly progress in a harassed world. The Commonwealth has, in my view, tremendous possibilities of raising the hopes of mankind by outlawing the use of force and coercion as a means of resolving disputes among its own members. Pakistan, is a peace loving nation and is fully conscious of its obligations to the great world family of nations.

The security and orderly progress of each of these nations is essential for Pakistan's own security and progress. Our attitude in international affairs is not one of isolation. We believe in active and energetic co-operation with other countries of the world in working for better international understanding and peace.

FAITH IN THEIR DESTINY

The aspirations that led to the creation of Pakistan, were and remain, the strongest urge of Pakistanis; our strongest interests therefore are, firstly the integrity of Pakistan; secondly our culture and lastly our desire and our need for economic development. Pakistan started almost from scratch on the 14th August, 1947. Most of the Government records were destroyed in transit from India to Pakistan. Little materials were available by way of stationery, office equipment, and furniture. Some of the essential Government personnel were held up in India due to disturbances but were later repatriated to Pakistan under the most trying conditions and at great expense. Similar difficulties were faced in East Pakistan and to a smaller degree in the Punjab. These conditions produced repercussions in the financial and economic sphere. Other problems of equal magnitude also had to be faced and overcome. Success was achieved not solely because of the efforts of the Government but mainly because of the sacrifices and selfless devotion to duty of our people. Their burning patriotism and faith in their destiny, under the inspiring leadership and guidance of the Father of our Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, were able to sustain them in their trials and tribulations. A deep sense of unity, discipline, and faith enabled the people of Pakistan to bear with extraordinary resilience, their difficulties and to gradually overcome them. In the past five and a half years the Government both at the centre and at the Provinces have evolved plans for the economic, industrial and financial development of the country. These plans have grown apace and Pakistan has not only established itself firmly but moved forward to an ordered pattern along lines which should lead to a good measure of prosperity.

DEPENDENT ON AGRICULTURE

Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country and 80 per cent of its population is directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture. The Government of Pakistan have paid special attention to the task of improving and developing agriculture. Their objective has been to provide food for the people and to earn foreign exchange for the development of the country. Grants and loans have been made to the Provincial Governments for the execution of their various agricultural development schemes. Important projects of a multi-purpose nature already in progress or under construction are (a) the Rasul Hydro-electric Scheme in the Punjab, (b) the Karnafuli project in East Pakistan, (c) the Warsak project in the North West Frontier Province, (d) the Lower Sind Barrage, and (e) the Thal Development Project. All these projects are designed to bring not only some millions of acres of land under the plough, but also to provide the means for industrializing the country. Lacking coal in sufficient quantities, Pakistan is naturally concentrating on harnessing water to provide electricity cheaply, and power for the running of industries.

DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Most of these schemes are incorporated in the Six Year Development Plan. This Plan also provides for the balanced industrial development of the country. A large number of other agricultural development schemes are being carried out in flood control, drainage, lift irrigation, and anti-waterlogging.

Pakistan's ally is still the soil, providing it with food and commercial crops. The two main cropping seasons yield a large variety of grain, the most important being rice and wheat. The other important crop is cotton. While the grain crops in normal years make Pakistan self-sufficient in food requirements, jute, cotton, and tea are its export staples, enabling it to earn much needed foreign exchange. Pakistan produces about 75 per cent of the world's jute. Almost the entire crop is exported, as until recently Pakistan had no jute mills of its own. However, this deficiency is being made up rapidly. Already jute cloth manufactured in Pakistan has been exported in small quantities to the United States of America.

The Pakistan Central Jute Committee is responsible for conducting agricultural technological and economic research on all aspects of jute growing and jute manufacture. A Central Cotton Committee, an Agricultural Enquiry Committee, and an Agricultural Development Finance Corporation have been set up. The former has been established to

improve still further the quality of the cotton crop. While the latter two have been set up to modernize agriculture and extend loan facilities for mechanical farming equipment, water lifting equipment, production and distribution of improved variety of seeds, and purchase of essential fertilizers. The aim of the Agricultural Development Finance Corporation is to develop agriculture on modern lines. Moreover, a Food and Agriculture Council has been formed to promote scientific, technological, social and economic research. It aims at co-ordinating research and distributing knowledge relating to food, agriculture, animal husbandry, and fisheries.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

Industrialization of the territories comprising Pakistan was neglected in the olden days despite the fact that raw materials and power resources were available. There was also no dearth of man-power. However, under the Six Year Plan, development plans are fully in hand, and many schemes have already been carried out. When the entire programme is completed it will change the face of rural Pakistan and also, perhaps, the pattern of village life.

A planning Advisory Board was set up to associate industrialists, businessmen, and other non-officials in the task of planning the industrial development of the country. Due to limited resources special emphasis was laid on schemes of fundamental and immediate importance such as hydro-electricity and other forms of power, maintenance and expansion of communications and ports, exploitation of mineral wealth, reclamation of land, establishment of basic key industries, training of technical personnel, prevention of disease, and improvement of health. The Six Year Plan evolved by this Board is the first organized effort to develop the natural resources of Pakistan and to raise the standard of living of the common man on a planned basis. It is only the first phase. More plans with bigger objectives are to follow. This Plan is based on the assumption that Pakistan must continue being essentially an agricultural country. But that agriculture must be carried out efficiently and the country's economy must be diversified to make it less vulnerable. To build up the economy of Pakistan in the shortest possible time, the Government decided to take in hand immediately such projects as could be carried out, principally from internal resources and to make the country self sufficient in its basic needs. A sub-Scheme to be complete in two years, beginning from March 1951 was launched. It covered the following fields of industry, power and fuel, jute, textiles, paper, cement, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, leather and footwear, telecommunications, ship building

and repairing, and edible oils. But without power and fuel there can be no industrial progress. It was natural, therefore, that top priority should have been given to power projects. This sub-Scheme or two year Plan, as it was called will double the power capacity in both East and West Pakistan. I need not dilate on the measures that have been taken to ensure that enterprise can flourish in a free and untrammelled way, nor need I tax you with an account of the action taken to make certain that the greater part of finance needed shall derive from private sources. The setting up of the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Industrial Development Corporation and a Tariff Board are a happy argury of planned development of industry.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Simultaneously with the planning and execution of development, the Government has utilized its available resources for launching a programme of social welfare of the masses. Each year our Budget has made a progressively increasing provision for social services. The foundations of Pakistan's economic and financial structure have been laid on as broad and sound a basis as is possible, and we have every reason to look forward to the future with confidence. We are grateful to the U.S.A., Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand for the assistance they have given and are giving. But, we need still greater assistance from the more fortunate and highly industrialized countries for exploring our resources to the full. Unfortunately, the difficulties which all the producers of primary products of the world have faced in the last one year have not by-passed us. Our income has fallen substantially with the decline in price of our foreign exchange earning raw materials. The demand for them is also not as brisk. This, in turn, has necessitated a reduction in the pace of our development. We are doing our utmost to prevent as much as possible, the slowing down of the wheels of our development. In fact, as our recent budget shows, greater provision has been made for the developmental schemes. We believe that our present difficulties are only a passing phase. Fundamentally, our economy is sound and we have taken steps to further strengthen our finance and economy. But it is in times such as these that the under-developed countries, like Pakistan, should receive increased assistance from more advanced and industrially developed countries. It is only then that their progress, so essential, can continue unabated.

It is ironic that the Muslims who introduced the era of learning in Asia and Europe are to-day suffering from general educational backwardness. At present only a little over 13 per cent of Pakistan's population can read and write. We can secure the practical benefits of our

ideology and our developmental programmes only when we have educated the millions of our people—when we have relieved them from the fear of disease and poverty—when we have saved them from the menace of malaria, cholera, plague, and tuberculosis. It is, therefore, incumbent to lead a crusade against illiteracy if we are to improve the lot of our people. The greatness of a nation depends upon the education of its people. Education is a religious requirement of the greatest importance, because knowledge ennobles the soul and lifts it to a greater height in search of truth. The moral and intellectual fibre of a nation can best be judged by the education of its people. In Pakistan we are endeavouring to revolutionize both the form and content of our educational system so that our educational policy and programme may be suited to the genius of our people. They have to be consonant also with our history and culture and have regard to modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. In other words, we are endeavouring to galvanize our educational system, so that it may truly become a dynamic and creative influence for nation building. The standard of culture and civilization is set by the universities and their influence permeates the very core of life and gives tone to it. The character of a society is not divorced from the character of education. Schools and colleges are not separated from the social order to which they belong. Education, therefore, cannot be planned in isolation. After all, educational reconstruction and reform go hand in hand with thoughtful re-orientation of a society's social and economic life. We are conscious that our educational planning must take into account the intricate pattern of life of our community. It follows therefore that education starts from the contemporary scene. It must consider the broad division of thought and action in the modern world and these are only three; we live in a world in which science and its product, the machine, form our national background; in a world confronted with complex problems of political and economic adjustment; in a world that is reflected in its entirety in literature, philosophy, religion, and the finer arts. Our education therefore will not concern itself merely with the training of the intellect. It will plan the building up of a society in which the individual will not be submerged in the state, where in turn, he will not be dominated by intellect alone, but will become a normal person in whom reason and instinct are harmoniously blended. In a true democracy, all children should be given by the State, an equal opportunity of developing their talents and realizing the best that is in them. The virtues of character must precede those of the intellect. The purpose of education is to build character, develop all the latent potentialities to their fullest limit and intellectual attainment, will naturally follow as a result of the exercise and practice of a fine

character and personality. The educational system of Pakistan will emphasize among its characteristics, those of universal brotherhood, justice, tolerance, and peace.

EDUCATIONAL PLAN

Free and compulsory primary education has been introduced for a duration of five years. Various Provinces of our country will naturally need varying periods of time to achieve education. Thousands of primary and secondary schools have been opened all over the country. A network of teachers, training schools and colleges, village uplift, adult literary centres, and women's industrial and welfare homes are being set up throughout Pakistan. Technical schools, research institutions, and engineering colleges are being established as well. Five universities are functioning in Pakistan. Women's education is not being neglected either. We are striving towards giving every woman in our society equal opportunities with men. In the task of building our nation and maintaining its solidarity, they have a most valuable part to play. They are the true guardians of our nation and the generations to come.

PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION

For the present, Pakistan is governed by the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and its day to day administration is guaranteed under the Government of India Act of 1935, as amended by the Governor General of Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, or Parliament, the members of which were elected by adult franchise in 1947 is a sovereign body when it meets to draw up the provisions of our new constitution. When it meets as a legislature, it exercises wide powers possessing the same privileges, functions, and authority as the other Dominion Parliaments. The Constituent Assembly is now endeavouring to draw up a constitution befitting a modern democratic state. A constitution which, in the widest and noblest sense, will be in accord with the fundamental and broad principles of Islamic fraternity, equality, and democracy. A little over three months ago our Prime Minister presented the Basic Principles Committee's Report to the Constituent Assembly as the suggested framework of our new constitution. The elected representatives have not yet debated the report as this was postponed to give our people time to study it carefully. In the opinion of many people, there is much room for improvement and amendment of the report in its present form. Much discussion and debate are taking place both at home and abroad on the report. The people in Pakistan desire to so improve it as to meet

the requirements of a constitution which is fully consonant with the life and needs of the twentieth century, and wholly democratic in structure. There has been some fear that Pakistan is moving towards a theocracy. I wish to dispel this fear most emphatically, as there is no room for theocracy in Islam which prohibits priestcraft. Our Prophet denounced priesthood in the strongest possible terms. According to him every individual has sovereign rights and must judge the laws of God himself. There never can be an ordained priestcraft in an Islamic society. The Prophet established a social order based on secular principles and there can be no deviation from them. The Quran is consonant in every respect with the needs of modern times. The responsibility of adjusting the natural laws of Islam according to the human wants of the people rests solely with their democratically elected representatives. The collective wisdom of our people will evolve a constitution which, in the widest terms, will be in accord with the fundamental and broad principles of Islam. We are being guided by a system of life whose social, moral, and economic code gives us a complete set of values. A system which is completely in line with progressive thought and life.

Social Welfare in Israel

By PROFESSOR T. S. SIMEY

THE TITLE of this article may perhaps lead to expectations of an account of the individual social welfare services provided in Israel, with special reference to education, public health, employment, social insurance, and social assistance. It is these, which perhaps, are associated with the idea of the Welfare State in England. But we are coming to-day to realize that it is misleading to examine the provision that is made for the welfare of the state without paying attention to the way of life of the individual citizen, and in particular, to his motivations, expectations, and objectives. We are, in fact, only too conscious in England to-day of the dangers of a form of social organization which emphasizes "getting" rather than "giving," and social scientists are tending to pay at least as much attention to the unofficial strike, and the Spiv, as they do to poverty, unemployment, and overcrowding. The participation of the ordinary citizen in the life

of the community is of crucial importance in an analysis of the organization and the quality of social life, and that elusive attribute of the vital community, morale, is seen as perhaps the most important objective to be achieved by social administrators and politicians alike.

This is the subject matter of contemporary study of what we now call "Human Relations," and it is from this much wider angle that I want to examine the contemporary social science in Israel. To restrict oneself to an investigation of the development of, for instance, social insurance, would be misleading, as it is by no means certain as yet how far social institutions and services which have been developed in the industrialized countries of the West are suited to the needs of the young State of Israel, situated as it is at the cross-roads of the Middle East. We must arrive at some general idea of the foundations of the new social order before we can begin to construct the administrative services to serve it with any degree of precision.

The most obvious feature of the contemporary scene is the pioneering ideology which is the basic faith of the new settlements, giving life and energy to Kibbutz and Moshav alike. The culture of these new communities is, as it were, tilted towards the future, directed towards the objective of building new and better things, rather than the enjoyment of the present, or the preservation of the past for its own sake. The co-operative settlement is child-centred, and the youth group is an organized social entity, encouraged to strike out for itself along novel lines. This pioneering ideology has given the contemporary society of Israel its characteristic vitality and freshness, so frequently remarked on. It has made the miracles possible which have led to the birth of the new Israeli people, and the creation of the new State. It will, it is hoped, make many more miracles possible in the future.

But the idea of the State of Israel as something which all are busy creating at every moment, as something which is so plastic that each can make his or her own impression on it, is tending to give way to a certain extent to a very different concept; one which implies that something has been created, which the immigrant must accept in some degree for what it is, and to which he must, as the social scientists say, make an "adjustment." This new society, is, of course, still in process of rapid transition, but certain fairly hard and fast lines of development are apparent, most of which extend right back into the early pioneering days, when they were first laid down.

These tendencies, which are now becoming explicit in social policy and administrative programmes, are embodied in the way of life of the élite, still composed to-day of what may be termed the Old Pioneers. Their culture, it should be noted, is closely associated with that of the intellectual

liberals of Eastern Europe at the outset of the present century, when it was deeply influenced by the thinking of the revolutionary movements of Tzarist Russia. The co-operative socialism of Russian social democracy and the Communism of the early forerunners of Lenin has strongly coloured the way of life of the kibbutzim and the moshavim of the inter-war period. Many of the leading politicians and administrators of to-day are exponents of this way of life. They are regarded by the more recent immigrants as something in the nature of a religious order, whose example is to be respected, but which the ordinary man can only follow in a somewhat halting way.

This tendency is evidenced by the slowing down of the rate of growth of the kibbutzim, and the rapid acceleration of that of the moshavim and the urban areas. The way of life of the élite of the immediate future seems likely to be co-operative, rather than communal, with steadily growing emphasis on an individualistic way of life in the new towns and suburbs.

What is likely to result from this? Much will depend on the ways in which the multitudes of immigrants who have arrived during the past five years have settled down or will settle down in the immediate future. Although nothing short of miracles have been accomplished in the provision of the immediate necessities of life, it remains to be seen how far a vital social life has been or will be created by the amalgamation of the different cultures of East and West. The possibilities that lie ahead are of course immense, but the dangers that must be overcome are equally great.

In the first place, there appears to be an assumption strongly held by the existing élite, that the social organization of the Israel of the present is the one to which the immigrant must in some measure make an adjustment. The older pioneers are apt to adopt a rather "tough" attitude to the immigrants, with the hardships which they endured in their pioneering days prominently in mind. Similar sacrifices are expected of the recent immigrants, who however, do not have the same ideological motivations. Their membership of the new State is often the result of persecution, and the only alternative to it, and not a matter of conscious choice; their motivation in coming to Israel has too often been despair in the present rather than a confident hope for the future. The difference is an important one.

The new immigrant may, indeed, resent being treated in this way by the pioneer, perhaps not unnaturally. As I have said, he frequently—perhaps usually—comes from a country where he has been persecuted and expects that he will get good treatment in Israel to make up for it. Fantasies that have prevailed about the "rich American uncle" have only too

often been rudely disappointed, and social workers have as a result witnessed "ugly scenes reminiscent of the work in Displaced Persons Camps." Moreover, the economy of Israel cannot at present support large urban populations or more than a relatively small middle class, and the direction of many urban and white-collar workers to agriculture and manual work has resulted in many serious problems in individual behaviour.

On the whole, however, the results of social research carried out by my colleague, Dr. Eisenstadt, in the Hebrew University on recent immigrants are reassuring. Out of a sample of 934 immigrant families, he classified 285 as "isolated" and "apathetic," 213 as "isolated but stable," or "active" and 436 as belonging to "cohesive" or "self-transferring" ethnic groups with strongly developed traditions and dispositions towards making a good adjustment to conditions in Israel. Nevertheless, it must be noted that upwards of a third of the families showed unfortunate social tendencies, and this cannot but be a cause of serious concern.

Dr. Eisenstadt has demonstrated that the influences to which immigrants most readily respond are those transmitted through the leaders of immigrant groups; the least effective influences are general and formal contacts; approaches through immigrant élites are more than six times as effective as formal and impersonal approaches. In general it has been said, "the extent of immigrant identification and participation within the new society is dependent on the degree of their attachment to the (immigrant) élites, and the élites' compatibility with the general orientation of the social system." The gulf that exists between the culture of the existing order and that of the new élite is, however, wide, and many problems must be solved before it can be bridged.

So far as I am aware, insufficient attention is being paid to this aspect of the situation in Israel. As I have already said, there appears to be too ready an assumption that the Central and Eastern European way of life is "right" and that the Eastern and African Jew should make an adjustment to it as quickly as he can. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that he has as much to contribute to the new State as to receive from it, and communication with him should be as far as possible a two-way affair. This is a particularly important consideration in view of the fact that whilst immigrants from all countries seem to make reasonably good adjustments in the economic sphere of social life, those from the Yemen and North Africa find it hard to understand and to participate in the cultural, recreational, and political sectors of social life. Whilst these immigrants may therefore be expected to pull their weight in the business of economic production, they find it more difficult to make it felt in politics than immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, and this may lead to a

certain measure of distortion in the development of the structure of the new State if the tendency is left to operate unchecked.

This state of affairs may even deteriorate if more careful attention is not paid to finding ways whereby the co-operation of immigrant élites in the social life of the country can be encouraged. Time is not on our side in this; there is a tendency for deterioration rather than improvement to take place in the status of immigrant leaders. If they are unable to interpret the culture of the new State to their fellow-immigrants, disillusionment will rapidly spread. The immigrant leaders need to be able to explain to their followers the use of ration books, health schemes, the system of voting, and many other customs accepted by the old inhabitants. The competition these leaders face with officials and politicians may quickly destroy their influence, which, it is suggested, is a precious thing.

As one youth-group leader is reported as having said to an elder when reproved by him for dancing a "Horah" on the Sabbath instead of going to the synagogue; "For you the synagogue is everything, but really it is almost nothing. It is not important at all. Here in Eretz Israel if I want to be a true Jew I have to dress, to dance and to go on excursions; that is how all good people live. That is how I shall know the land, and be a part of it; and of all the nation. You think it is wrong, but you do not know. You still live in Yemen; not here."

This may sound rather depressing, and I would therefore like to interrupt my argument for a moment to assure my audience that, by and large, the assimilation of immigrants is much more obvious than non-assimilation. An astonishing amount of re-learning and adaptation can be achieved and has been achieved in a very short time. The assimilation of young men and women in the Army is a case in point. Moreover, I have been told many remarkable stories of achievements in this regard; an immigrant group from the East, for instance, may take only a few minutes to learn how to work a water tap, and exploit its advantages. - It may also only take a matter of a week for it to organize a deputation to the Jewish Agency to protest that standpipes are inadequate, and demand that water should be laid on to each house. Research by one of my own students in Israel, moreover, has shown that the first generation of Sabras are able to emulate the "western" Israeli even in the kinds of misbehaviour characteristic of the latter as industrial workers. There are in fact, few rigid social barriers to human progress; neither are there barriers to human deterioration, and herein lies the heavy responsibility that must be borne in Israel to-day by politician and administrators.

There is a problem, therefore, and it is a serious one. May I summarize my argument by saying that what have been called astonishing powers of self-direction are evident in the behaviour of immigrants. "Long

experience of fighting for survival on every level has," it has been said, "created a resourcefulness which may be deemed a national characteristic." But it is unfortunately true that this resourcefulness must be utilized by positive means, or at least not frustrated. Private enterprise if blocked, may degenerate into apathy, or even result in delinquent behaviour. This second reaction is as important as the first. The new country is felt by many immigrants to be "strange," unable to provide a sense of security, and confusing. This is to be expected, but the feelings may go so far as to lead to an identification of the immigrant with his leader against the new country. A possible consequence may be the undermining of the common values of the community, as it has been put, "through the evolution of many incompatible particularistic group-identifications and the growth of inter-group tensions"; or, in other words, by the schismatic tendencies which have, until recently, been only too familiar in Israel.

This is also evident, of course, in individual behaviour as well as in relationships between groups. "Wherever immigrants establish a positive identification with the new social structure and its values," writes Dr. Eisenstadt, "and wherever the identification is not blocked by the "absorbing" environment, the cultural and social differences only rarely give rise to a high incidence of delinquent group-formations among the children and adolescents" and, of course, the converse is equally true. It is therefore understandable why the rate of juvenile delinquency is so high amongst Oriental Jews, where the processes of cultural conflicts are most acute.

It is now appropriate to ask what the attitude of the older pioneers may be expected to be towards the immigrants at large, and apathetic or delinquent immigrants in particular. In the first place, discrimination against immigrants on the part of the older inhabitants is rare, and in a society which is highly youth-centred special attention is paid to encouraging the younger generation to find its own place in the community. Opportunities for the creation of new ways of living and new forms of adaptation are fostered, even if the results may be painful for the members of older generations. But the highly developed ideology of the pioneers demands that adaptations shall be in fairly clearly defined directions even if the results are unpleasant for individuals, and set up strains within the social structure.

An obvious feature of the predominant social ideology is, for instance, the "exceptionally high value" with which physical labour as such is invested; this gives the Eastern Jew his chance to find a place for himself in society quickly and securely, but the results may be unfortunate for the individual with a bent for administrative work or social service such

as teaching. Officials on the Moshav, even those holding key administrative positions are not accorded a very favourable position in the social scale, and the concept of amateur administration, similar to that of the English Parish of two centuries ago, does not make much allowance for the removal of the difficulties which immigrant élites experience. To assimilate them is an operation which requires skill and understanding by well trained officials with high social status, to whom the élites will respond naturally. So far as social status on the Moshavim goes this has been held to be determined by "occupational success, conformity to basic principles and efficient participation"; the relation between these criteria is complex, and a certain measure of tension has arisen between economic success on the one hand and participation and conformity on the other. Mere skill as an agriculturist, therefore, will not enable the ordinary immigrant to rise very far in the social scale; the learning of the co-operative way of life will be a complex matter for him, but it is nevertheless a necessary pre-requisite of social advancement. Conversely, the member of the immigrant élite is unlikely to be a good agriculturist and this appears to bar him from rapid social advance.

Still more important than this, however, is the fact that a combination of "superiority to outsiders, basic underlying equality, and extremely sharp judgment of members as to the degree of achievement" has been found by researchers to be the distinctive characteristics of the status system of both the kibbutzim and moshavim.

It is not an attitude of mind which can be expected to encourage the immigrant to feel at home or socially secure, until, at least, he has been through an elaborate process of social adjustment and ideological re-education. On the other hand, however, there is undoubtedly a very real sense of responsibility on the part of the co-operative settler towards the immigrants, expressed in the most practical ways, as for instance, by service in a variety of administrative and teaching posts in the Ma'abarot and the new Moshavim, and by the acceptance of groups of young people, immigrants, or "social problem cases" for training on the settlements. Much of the work undertaken in this way is most encouraging, and it cannot be denied that the ideology of the co-operative or communal way of life is very readily applicable even to the problems of the re-education of the young urban delinquent, even in an urban environment.

Where, then, does all this argument lead? The problems which I have outlined above are well known in Israel; in fact, the information on which my paper is based has been collected and analysed by Israeli research workers. But the gaps between knowledge and administrative action are too wide. Few of the papers on which I have relied are known to Israeli

officials or social workers; although they are well aware of the dangers and difficulties of trying to assimilate the new immigrants into the existing society, they have been too overburdened during the past five years by the extremely urgent responsibilities of everyday life, to try to work out for themselves appropriate methods for building the new State at the grass-root level in local communities. Attention is now being paid to the development of local government, and the building of an administrative machine associated with it to look after the social services. This seems to be the right line for approaching the social problems of Israel. Social security is only to be had in the final analysis in the family, and the primary group, and in the neighbourhood and the settlement and the suburb, and if the latter can be given the appropriate administrative foundations the former may be expected to develop steadily, and in the end to flourish in full measure.

I end, therefore, on an optimistic note. The tendency in Israel to organize the social and political life of the country on an ideological basis which has separated one community from another and has to a certain extent split the State into a number of isolated fragments, is far too familiar a phenomenon to require emphasis from me. It is, of course, impossible to build a Welfare State or to achieve social security as long as it exists. But the trend of the moment appears to be away from this, and in the direction of continuing the work of the early pioneers who laid the foundations of the rural settlements. A successful social and economic experiment such as Nahalal is much more than a mere local achievement; it is of world-wide significance. The success of the settlements has shown that it is possible to bring very different kinds of people together into a collaborate relationship, and to create out of them a movement contributing in the most important way to the building of the new State, by providing it with leaders, administrators and teachers. Given a rather better understanding of the social needs of the new immigrant and more scope for the administrator and social worker to develop ways and means of meeting them, the outline of the structure of the new society will soon take shape. If contemporary political events provide them with greater freedom to act, unhampered by those who are exponents of doctrinaire political creeds rather than statesmen representing the great traditions of Israeli political life, so much the better.

In my opinion, therefore, contemporary social trends in Israel are reassuring. Economic difficulties are compelling the leaders of the country to maintain the emphasis they have always placed on the value of manual work and work on the land, and this is providing the setting in which West can meet and collaborate with East. The traditional values of Jewish family life are beginning to re-assert themselves on the

Moshav, and this is all to the good. The country may be poor, but as was said in Britain during a period of heavy air attack—"If we are all poor together, what matter?" The self-reliance and confidence of the Sabra is to be seen most on the land and in the Army, and this is an excellent augury for the future success of the new State. It is also an important thing for all Jews, everywhere. Finally, may I end by saying that if Israel can bring social security to the troubled cross-roads of the world which the new State controls, a great service will have been done to mankind at large.

Gueeyin-Chinese:

Chinese in Roman Letters

By Dr. C. C. WANG

DESPITE TURMOIL, incessant wars, invasion and communism raging over China ever since the turn of the century, many great reforms have been pushed forward during this period. One of the most fundamental, although little noticed by the outside world, is the modernization of the written Chinese language. The significance of this reform, as it is gradually realized, is momentous in that it involves the drastic measure of pulling down the vertically constructed Chinese characters, with all their pictographs and ideographs that have been in use four thousand years and replacing them with the equivalent sounds in letters of a horizontal, phonetic alphabet. It entails the fundamental overhauling of over ten thousand words¹ or characters (as they are generally called) in common use, with all their influence upon the mind and life of four hundred million people during four milleniums. In no country other than China are there more than one hundred and sixty million people speaking a single language, whereas in China there are about three hundred and fifty million speakers of the mandarin or national Chinese, with about one hundred million more, although speaking dialects, that can easily learn it.

It must also be added that written Chinese is the basic language in Korea, Japan, Annam and Thailand, as Latin is the basic of the Romance languages. In fact, written Korean is entirely Chinese while terms of

¹The total number is about thirty thousand.

importance in Japanese are still Chinese characters despite Japan's efforts to phoneticize its writing. This will add another one hundred and twenty million people that will be immediately affected by the modernization of Chinese. These facts alone will be ample to help realize the momentous importance of the movement for the modernization of Chinese writing.

The primary purpose of this reform is to make the written Chinese easier to read and write so as to reduce illiteracy. China's needs are many, but one of the most urgent is to teach the Chinese people to read and write. With seventy-five per cent of her people illiterate, China is seriously handicapped in her efforts to establish a democracy and to play her part in the family of nations. Therefore, to reduce illiteracy is recognized as the prerequisite of all social, political and economic reforms in China.

This task is extremely difficult, if not impossible, so long as the written Chinese remains in its present ideographic and semihieroglyphic form. The trouble with written Chinese is that it was invented too early and has been preserved too long without proper modification. When Chinese was invented, material for writing was limited to chips of bone, slabs of stone or pieces of bamboo, and much writing had to be done by carving or chiselling. Writing material was so scarce that the primary idea of the ancient sages was, seemingly, to make the writing compact so as to save space. Therefore, compact strokes were adopted as letters, and the different letters, instead of being spread out in a row, one after another, as in English or French, are often piled up one on top of another, three or four storeys high, or are even inserted one inside of another. Chinese characters suggest or resemble skyscrapers, with the letters or strokes piled high up into the air for the sake of saving space. English writing, on the contrary, is like one-storied bungalows; the letters stand one next to another, row after row, with a certain uniformity in size and appearance. If we take a page of printed Chinese or carefully written manuscript and compare it with a page of printed English, French or German, the Chinese is seen at once to possess a marked characteristic of its own. It consists of a number of wholly independent units of a uniform size, each of which would fit into a small square. Every one of these independent units is a word or character, as it is often called. If there are many strokes or letters in a word, the strokes must be written smaller, but if there are few strokes, each stroke may be made bigger and stouter, the ultimate idea being that all the strokes or letters of each word must occupy the same amount of space. Therefore, written Chinese is probably the most compact of all forms of writing and requires the least space for expressing any given idea.

Written Chinese largely consists of thousands of complicated pictographs, ideographs and phonetic symbols, each of which stands for a fairly complete idea with a monosyllabic pronunciation. These symbols are brought together in every conceivable way to form other ideas. Each single one of these thousands of symbols may require a score or more of strokes.

In spite of changes, there are still recognizable in the written Chinese language many hieroglyphic features, or pictographs. The word "man," for instance, is the picture or character of a person standing with his hands down and feet apart; for "mouth" we have a round hole, which is now changed into a square hole; "sun" is a circle with a dot in it; "moon" is the picture of a crescent with two dots in it, a fact seeming to indicate that the ancient Chinese believed, rightly or wrongly, there were more spots in the moon than in the sun.

The ideographic features are even more prevalent. For instance, the sign for "sun" and the sign for "moon" combine to make "bright"; the sign for "man" standing by the sign for "word," a man standing by his word makes "honesty"; the sign for "roof" placed on top of the sign for "pig" makes "home"—apparently in ancient China, as it used to be in Ireland, every household must have a pig; the sign for "woman" resting under the sign for "roof" makes the character "peace," indicating that if women stay more at home, there is peace. The sign for "heart" with the sign for "white," heart turning white, means "fear"; the sign for "many" plus the sign for "mouth," many mouths, make "gossip"—ideographs which are hard to improve upon indeed.

On account of the complexity of the hieroglyphic, ideographic and other archaic features, the written Chinese language is so extremely difficult to learn that no other modern language can compare with it. The difficulty is patent to any one who has ever glanced at a Chinese book. To the average foreigner, I am told, the characters look like a dense forest of complicated symbols in which the hardy adventurer will soon lose himself before he penetrates very far. This difficulty is no less formidable to the Chinese, for Chinese schoolboys have to spend years in mastering the mechanics of reading and writing, a task upon which an English-speaking schoolboy needs to spend only a fraction as much time as his Chinese cousin. Some authorities on the subject estimate that to master the written language will take the average Chinese two years more than the average English boy of equal ability and diligence up to matriculation. On the other hand, the fact that of the thousands of Europeans and Americans learning Chinese in China there are so few who really master the written Chinese language, even to the small extent of writing an ordinary, presentable letter, cannot mean that the Westerners are dull. Indeed, the

difficulty in learning written Chinese has been generally recognized by both Chinese and foreign observers as one of the principal causes of China's backwardness.

The difficulties in using the written Chinese language, however, present to the commercial and industrial development of China no fewer obstacles than the difficulties in learning it. Numerous characters contain so many strokes, arranged in so complicated a manner that it is hard to write the characters even after mastering them. In spite of the simplification and modernization of written Chinese by replacing the literary with the *baehua* or colloquial style, it is not easy to find many men who can readily write everyday, documentary letters. Take the old Ministry of Communications in Peking, for example, out of its three hundred-odd members, hardly half that number could carry on the routine correspondence as well as the average members in a government department in Washington or London. The same is true in business houses. After years of careful observation, the writer firmly believes that the difference in efficiency is due not to the difference in the men but to the difference in the written language. Moreover, even with well qualified persons, it will take a Chinese about twice as much time to do the same amount of work in Chinese as it will take an American or European to do it in any of the Western languages. The difference in the amount of time and labour required for doing the same amount of work simply means that the Chinese are handicapped to that extent in conducting their business in the face of international competition, which is becoming keener every day. It means that either two Chinese will have to receive the wages of one American or European of equal ability and qualification, or the business will have to cost so much more as compared with the same business conducted in other languages.

Another drawback is that written Chinese is monosyllabic, that is, each individual word has only one syllable. Moreover, with the exception of n, ng and r, no word in the Mandarin or Peiping vernacular ends with a consonant. Chinese has, therefore, a very limited number of differently sounded words and hence is strikingly poor in vocables, or separate sounds for the conveyance of speech. In Peiping vernacular, for example, there are only about four hundred distinct sounds. Since many of these have fewer than four tones, we have at most fourteen hundred differently pronounced vocables in the whole Chinese language. On the other hand, there are more than ten thousand differently written characters for even ordinary every-day use, and each has a different meaning. Thus the fourteen hundred different-sounding vocables have to do service for a vocabulary of more than ten thousand. In other words, each word would have on the average seven homonyms or other words with the same

sound although written differently and with totally different meanings. Take the sound "yi" with the fourth tone, for example. There are about ninety different words pronounced exactly the same, although each one of the ninety-odd yi's is written in a different way and each one has its own meaning. "Yi" means epidemic when it has the radical for "sickness"; "yi" means overflow when it bears the radical for "water"; "yi" means righteousness when it bears the radical for "lamb"; and "yi" has more than eighty other meanings. The fact that in ancient China, as in Biblical Palestine, the lamb was the symbol of righteousness might be evidence showing the similarity in the religious thoughts of two peoples. Missionaries would perhaps be well justified to give that explanation. Indeed, the word "righteousness" in Chinese curiously suggests Christ himself, for the ideograph of the word literally seems to mean "I the lamb."

Since so many different words with entirely different meanings but the same sound exist in written Chinese, confusion is sure to be confounded if the language is written phonetically pure and simple. The vocables, as we have seen, are so few in number that only the colloquial tongue, if that, could possibly be transcribed in this number. Any attempt to transliterate classical Chinese would result in a mere jumble of sounds, utterly unintelligible, even with the addition of tone marks. It is largely on account of this difficulty that all efforts to phoneticize the written Chinese language have failed.

A further characteristic of the Chinese language is that each word generally has four tones which cause the same word to mean totally different things. The tones of a word may be defined as modulations of the voice by means of which different inflections are imparted to the same sound. In fact, the tone is almost as much an integral part of the character or word to which it belongs as the sound itself. As there is not any counterpart of the tone in English or French, it is over the tone that Westerners stumble the most. The writer well remembers that his first American teacher of English more than once called a bald-headed boy *tuxzy* of the 4th tone which meant rabbit, while she should have called him *tuzy* of the first tone. As rabbit in Chinese is a slang word with an ignoble twist in meaning, it can be imagined how the class roared with laughter at the expense of the teacher and the poor hairless victim.

Another serious drawback, which may eventually be offset to some extent by television and telephotography, is that it is impossible to transmit Chinese characters by telegraph except in code. When the telegraph was first introduced into China in the tenth year of *Tuingjyx* (A.D. 1871), it was impossible for the Chinese to utilize that invention for transmitting messages in their own language. To overcome the difficulty, a code

system was invented by which each group of four Arabic numerals was coded to represent one Chinese word. A code-book of about eight thousand such groups of Arabic figures was to represent eight thousand words. When anybody needs to telegraph in Chinese, he has first to put each word of his message into groups of four Arabic figures according to the public code-book and then hand the message to the operator to be transmitted. Upon the receipt of the message, the addressee will have to reverse the operation and decode the figures before he can read the message. Since an error in any group of figures will make the word concerned unintelligible, much confusion and delay naturally ensue.

It must also be remembered that to code a Chinese telegram is much more difficult than to code a similar English or French message. Chinese words in dictionaries and code-books are not arranged in any alphabetic order, because there is none, but in the order of 214 radicals.¹ Since many of the 214 radicals are attached haphazardly to the thousands of words, to locate in the public code-book the words of an ordinary telegram is a real task. Even mature scholars have to spend considerable time in locating certain words. To put an ordinary telegram of about thirty words into the public code may require a half-hour, though to write a similar message in French or English will take about three minutes. Much time must also be wasted by the addressee in the process of decoding such a telegram.

Moreover, telegrams in figures have been forbidden by the International Telegraph Union to enjoy the benefit of deferred-telegram or night-letter rates. Though anybody may send messages in any of the European languages either to or from China at reduced rates, the Chinese alone have been deprived of the privilege of using their own language for this purpose. For the special purpose of removing this prohibition, the writer was appointed, in 1925, chief delegate of the Chinese Government to the Paris International Telegraph Conference. During most part of the Conference, the Chinese proposition appeared hopeless. Indeed, some of the most important delegations called our proposition "preposterous," and accused us of asking the Conference to call black white. But the opposition only led the Chinese delegation to redouble their efforts. Everything conceivable was done to win the different delegates. We even took pains to compile explanatory booklets on the mysteries of Chinese philology and calligraphy, and invited each delegation separately to Parisian parties, but that is another story. Our efforts were not in vain. After a continuous struggle of over two months we succeeded in inducing the Paris Conference to insert a special provision in the International Telegraph Regulations to recognize the Chinese public code as

¹Radicals are classifiers and idea and identity indicators of the characters.

plain language, which, as our Conference friends said, was the first time in the world that code words were accepted as plain words.

As the radical is so important in telegraphy as well as in romanization, let us examine it further. Generally speaking, each character consists of two parts, the phonetic¹ and the radical. Under all other systems of phoneticization and romanization, the radical has been neglected and therefore the meaning of the romanized word is not indicated and the identity of the words is lost. The Gueeyin-Chinese (Gueeyinzyx for brevity) identifies each Chinese character having the same sound and same tone by affixing a radical sign.

Radicals may be called idea-indicators or classifiers of the words. Thus, all words relating to trees, fruits, furniture and so forth bear the radical "mu," which means wood or large plant; words relating to the functions of the mouth such as to eat, to swallow, tongue, gossip, bear the radical "kou," which means mouth; all words relating to the female sex, such as sister, aunt, marriage, wife, jealousy, graceful, bear the radical "niu," which means woman or female. Take three of the words which are pronounced "fang," for example; it means fragrant when it bears the radical for small plant, indicating that fragrance emits from flowers; fat when it has the radical for "flesh"; obstacle or opposition when it bears the radical for "woman." In ancient China, apparently, as in the Garden of Eden, the fair sex was considered an obstacle. Incidentally, the radical for woman is often the determinator of words that stand for unamiable qualities, such as jealous, treacherous, uncanny. This does not mean that only women have obstructive qualities but indicates that men have played the principal part in the development of writing and that, from the masculine point of view, in China as elsewhere, there is something obstructive and unmanageable in the nature of women.

In fact the radicals of written Chinese very much resemble the "Exchange Signs" of the telephone numbers in large cities, where each number consists of two parts: (1) a group of letters indicating the "exchange sign" and (2) a common numeral. For instance, in London there are WHITEhall 1212, LANGham 1212, WELbeck 1212, etc., in which WHI, LAN, and WEL serve the purpose of establishing the identity of the three telephone numbers just as the radical signs serve to establish the identity of the characters. In the case of the telephone, it is by the proper combination of the right "exchange sign" and the right numeral that the correct 'phone number may be connected, while in the case of the romanized Chinese characters it is by the combination of the

¹The sound and the tone together are generally called the phonetic. The latter and the radical are the two legs of each character which will be crippled by the removal of either.

right radical and the right phonetic that the correct character may be determined.¹

The value of the radical has long been recognized by sinologists and its importance in the study and teaching of Chinese has been increasingly emphasized.² But the only provision made so far is to indicate the 214 radicals by giving each a number from 1 to 214, according to its position in the radical-table.³ It is obvious that this method of using numerals is unsuitable for general writing and telegraphing purposes. Of course the introduction of polysyllabic words (explained hereinafter) will greatly reduce this trouble. But it can only alleviate, not eliminate, the difficulty since no amount of effort in introducing polysyllabic words will eliminate the use of monosyllabic words, especially in telegraphic, literary and documentary works.

There is hardly any doubt that written Chinese should be simplified. A serious hindrance to phoneticizing the written Chinese language is the existence of so many dialects. Because the pronunciation of each written word differs so much in various parts of the country, the written dialects, if put on a phonetic basis before the dialect problem is solved, will become in a few generations so established that the language situation in China may become even worse than that of Europe. Instead of one written language, there will be scores of written languages in the country. Since the written language has so much unifying influence, any innovation can hardly compensate for the loss unless unity and uniformity are kept in each word. Indeed, the Chinese characters, unwieldy as they are, have been such a bond of union between the different parts of the country that China would be taking a fatal step toward internal disruption if these characters should fall into disuse before a system of writing equally uniform replaced them. Therefore, in introducing any phonetic system, one must, first of all, overcome the dialect obstacle and keep the written language, be it phonetic or not, one and the same throughout the country. Failing this, one will do more harm than good.

The earliest efforts to romanize the Chinese language was made by missionaries in 1588. The efforts of all foreign scholars in romanizing Chinese, however, have been for the limited purpose of indicating the sounds and tones of Chinese characters so as to help the student to learn

¹In Chinese characters the radicals are placed at different places, but in Gueeyin-Chinese they are always affixed at the end so as to give prominence to the sound or phonetic.

²*Vide* Students' Pocket Dictionary by W. E. Soothill, Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, Shanghai, 1936; "How to Study and Write Chinese Characters" by Dr. W. Simon, Lund Humphries & Company, London, 1944, pp. ix-xxxviii; "A Syllabic Dictionary of Chinese Language," by S. Wells Williams, L.L.D., North China Union College, Tientsin, near Peking, 1906, pp. xii-xxiv, Lxxiv; The Five Thousand Dictionary, by Dr. C. H. Fenn, 1947, and Professor H. H. Dubs' Dictionary List of Three Thousand Characters, 1950.

³The only effort to utilize the radicals for romanization or phoneticization seem to be that explained by the author in "Hainhanzyx," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, October-December, 1940, and that by Professor H. H. Dubs in "A Dictionary List of Tentative Spelled Substitutes for the Three Thousand Commonest Characters" (Photostat Copy, June, 1950).

how each character is pronounced. Of the half dozen systems of romanization, the Wade system is by far the best, in that it reproduces the sounds of the characters by a simple system of spelling and indicates the four tones by 1, 2, 3, 4 respectively. For the limited purpose of indicating the sounds and tones of the characters, Wade's system is quite adequate. However, it failed to take care of the radical, which forms an integral part of each character, and therefore proves unfit for general romanization purposes.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]



BULBUL CHAUDHRY, THE DISTINGUISHED PAKISTANI DANCER,
WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THE TROUPE

REVIEWS

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON: STUDIES PRESENTED TO VLADIMIR MINORSKY. pp. 413-681, with numerous plates and figures, Luzac, 1952, (30/-) net.

(REVIEWED BY W. E. D. ALLEN, OBE, FSA).

The many admirers of Vladimir Minorsky will welcome this tribute to the veteran scholar and orientalist, presented by his colleagues of the School of Oriental and African Studies to commemorate his seventy-fifth birthday. The detailed bibliography of the Professor's publications will prove of great value to collectors of "Minorskiana." His earliest paper dates from 1901—over half a century ago—and it is a pleasure to read that no less than nine new titles are either in the press or in course of preparation.

In a brief review it is only possible to list the treasures of the present volume—which will appeal to a variety of tastes.

In a volume dedicated to the dean of Iranian studies it is natural that Iranian subjects take pride of place. His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh contributes a paper on "The Old Iranian Calendars Again," and Professor H. W. Bailey has a learned study on "Kusanica." Miss Mary Boyce writes on "Some Parthian abecedarian hymns" and J. A. Boyle provides "Notes on the colloquial language of Persia as recorded in certain recent writings." The Kurds are not over looked in C. J. Edmonds' essay on "The Place Names of the Avroma Parchments." The new interest of the School in Ossetic is brought out in I. Gershevitch's "Ancient Survivals in Ossetic." One of the most substantial contributions to the volume is W. B. Henning's "A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatāran"—a learned excursion in Sassanian relations which should rejoice the heart of Professor Minorsky.

Religious subjects have a light ration. A. S. Tritton discusses "Some Mu'tasili Ideas about Religion" and J. Walker has a brief essay on "The Moon-God on Coins of the Hadramaut."

Among literary themes, Professor A. J. Arberry treats a new MS of Omar Khayyām; D. M. Dunlop writes on "The Diwan attributed to Ibn Bajjah"; and J. Robson describes "The Transmission of Ab-Dāwud's *Sunan*." Professor Levy views Persia through its proverbs and apologies; and J. Wickens analyses primary and secondary significations in the third *Ghazal* of Hafiz. H. A. R. Gibb writes of the millenary celebrations in honour of Ibn Sīnā.

In the historical field, D. M. Lang has a useful article on "Georgia and the Fall of the Safāvi Dynasty" in which he combines the Georgian sources published by Brosset with contemporary European accounts. Bernard Lewis, writing of "The Privileges Granted by Mehmed II to His Physician" reveals some very curious details of the influence secured by Jews at the court of the earlier sultans in Istanbul. This influence continued to grow, and was a factor of political importance, certainly during the reign of Selim II, and probably later. The subject merits further and deeper study, particularly in relation to the conflict with Spain (whence the Jews had been recently expelled) and to the competently directed plans for Ottoman expansion in Africa (where Jewish communities had a wide network of interests). D. Sinor discusses the thirteenth century traveller, Julian of Hungary, and Paul Wittek has a long and important article on the obscure subject of the Gagauz or Christian Turks of the Dobruja.

Lastly, to the lay reader at least, one of the most interesting articles in this learned volume is D. S. Rice's generously illustrated study in Islamic metal work. It may interest the author to know that "the polo-sticks shaped like hockey-sticks," illustrated in 12th century Seljuk and Ayyubid work, were still in fashion among the Georgian nobility in the 17th century, as shewn in one of Castelli's drawings in the Biblioteca Comunale in Palermo.

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Pakistan and its Problems

By the Hon. Mr. MOHAMMAD ALI

PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

ON MONDAY, June 8, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, during his visit to Britain for the Coronation and the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers addressed a meeting of the Association jointly with the Pakistan Society and the Over-Seas League. The large St. Andrew's Hall was filled to capacity by an audience of more than 450.

The Chair was taken by H.E. Mr. M. A. H. ISPAHANI, High Commissioner for Pakistan in London. Opening the meeting His Excellency said:

I think we may now almost regard it as an established convention that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, on his periodic visits to London, should honour the Pakistan Society by addressing its members on some topic of current importance. A pleasant precedent is also well on the way to being created according to which the old and mature East India Association joins forces with the young and enthusiastic Pakistan Society on these happy occasions.

To-day it is my privilege to introduce to you Mr. Mohammad Ali, our Prime Minister. To many of the British members of these organisations who served in the area which now constitutes Pakistan, our speaker is not yet well known—and there I have an advantage over them, for I first became acquainted with him as a youthful and budding politician in 1936. Before that I had the pleasure of counting his father among my friends. I can claim to have a very special interest in Mr. Mohammad Ali because (almost) our first meeting was when I went to Bogra to assure him that the Muslim League was then the only political Party in Bengal to which a man of his intelligence and ability could possibly belong. Of course I was successful. Since those comparatively early days my bonds of sympathy with Mr. Mohammad Ali have been complete. We were together as members of the same party in the Legislature—and we have been doing the same kind of jobs for Pakistan overseas, until very recently when he was called upon to assume the position of highest responsibility in our country. Needless to say he cheerfully shouldered a burden which might well leave more marks of care on his face than were apparent when he was Ambassador for Pakistan in Rangoon or Washington, and it is that cheerful application to duty which is characteristic of the man. I cannot help feeling

that the world would be a less anxious place to-day if some of the leaders in countries which shall be nameless, in the past and in the present, had had more sense of humour—or indeed any sense of humour at all.

With his gift for seeing the bright side of things Mr. Mohammad Ali has a maturity of wisdom and experience beyond his years. He climbed the ladder of political advancement hardly missing a single rung. As chairman of the Bogra Municipality, chairman of the District Board, elected member of the Provincial Legislature, Minister for Finance and Health in undivided Bengal after only 10 years of public life—as Pakistan's first High Commissioner in Canada, as Ambassador in Burma and in the United States—he has gained considerable knowledge of domestic administration, Commonwealth relations and foreign policy which must be regarded as first class training for a Prime Minister. His is a great opportunity of serving, and, knowing him as I do, I am sure he will do his best and nothing short of his best for our country.

POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

MR. MOHAMMAD ALI said: I am grateful to the Pakistan Society and the East India Association for the honour they have done me by inviting me to address such a distinguished gathering as I see assembled before me. It is a matter of privilege to be offered an opportunity to speak to such select and distinguished bodies.

With the progress in methods of communication and means of transport the pattern of international relationships has changed to such an extent that it is no longer possible for any country, or for that matter any nation, to remain isolated. Now the repercussions of a conflict anywhere is felt all over the world. Take, for instance, the case of Korea. Although the conflict there is localized, yet the effects of this small conflagration are felt in all corners of the globe. Therefore, now that all countries are so closely inter-linked and interdependent, it is extremely desirable and necessary to foster greater international understanding and goodwill. It is, therefore, fitting that the Pakistan Society and the East India Association should strive to promote international goodwill and cordiality. It is very pleasing to find that these two organisations have done so well in providing platforms and forums for discussion of international subjects, with a view to promoting understanding and friendship between members of the Commonwealth.

Until two months ago I was a politician turned diplomat. To-day I am a diplomat turned politician. As a diplomat I represented my country abroad for five years. Rightly or wrongly a diplomat is regarded to be a country's representative who lies abroad, even though some

kindly persons think that he does so for the good of his country. Modern diplomacy is not of the old-fashioned type. To-day truth and honesty have come to be regarded as the prime requisites for successful diplomatic work. Diplomacy, however, is not the monopoly of diplomats.

THE NEW CHALLENGE

You are aware that since Pakistan's inception we have had to face and surmount tremendous difficulties. It is indeed a miracle that we have been able to triumph over them. There are three reasons for our success. First and foremost is our belief that God helps those who help themselves. We have faith in our own destiny and confidence in ourselves. Secondly, we had Qaid-i-Azam and Qaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan, at the helm of our affairs at a most critical time, who provided superb leadership and the people of Pakistan to a man gave of their best in devoted and loyal service to the country. Last but not least, is the will and determination of our people who rose ever and again to the occasion and considered no sacrifice too great to make Pakistan strong.

To-day we are faced with fresh difficulties. It is the people who have successfully weathered many a previous storm who are confident of meeting this new challenge also. We have had two rude, but I think necessary, shocks in the economic sphere. The first was the outcome of a world-wide recession in commodity prices. Its impact on our economy was most severe, as 90 per cent of our exports consist of raw materials such as jute and cotton. Though a fall in world prices was believed inevitable after the boom year of 1951, that it would be so steep and so rapid in our case came to us as a surprise. Within a year the prices of jute and cotton declined sharply to less than half. As a result our foreign exchange earnings fell to almost half of our 1951 earnings.

A VULNERABLE ECONOMY

Misfortune seldom comes singly. Synchronizing with this setback came another shock; a serious shortage of food in a country which had hitherto been surplus in food. This calamity also was due to circumstances beyond our control. The monsoons failed for two successive years, at the time of wheat sowings both in 1951 and 1952, and there was a serious shortage of water in the canals of West Pakistan which draw their supplies from rivers flowing through India. As a result the wheat crop last year was short by 950,000 tons and during the current year the shortage is expected to be of the order of 1½ million tons. With our depleted foreign exchange earnings we had to import about 800,000

tons of wheat last year by drawing upon our exchange reserves. This year we are faced with the further necessity of importing another 1½ million tons of wheat in order to avoid distress and famine and build a reserve to control wheat prices. Our present available exchange resources do not permit us to import such a huge quantity of wheat. We were, therefore, obliged to turn to friendly countries for assistance. I am happy that the response has been heartening. Our sister nations, Canada and Australia, have generously offered 100,000 tons and 45,000 tons respectively as part of the Colombo aid. We have approached the United States of America for assistance in the supply of one million tons of wheat. From present indications it appears that our request is being very sympathetically considered.

These two shocks have served as a timely reminder to us of the vulnerability of our economy to the operation of forces beyond our control. We had taken our food surplus for granted. We have now awakened to the realization that we cannot do so. Similarly, the sudden sharp fall in commodity prices with its consequent effect on our finances has brought home to us the fact that our economy is still almost wholly dependent on world price trends over which we have no control. We are, therefore, determined to put our food and our economy on a stabler footing, and make them independent, so far as possible, of forces which we cannot control. Political freedom without economic independence is, to my mind, meaningless. We must strive to gain economic freedom, freedom, that is, from the operation of economic forces beyond national control, so as to give substance to our political sovereignty.

WATER OF THE INDUS BASIN

In the first instance, so far as our food is concerned, we must endeavour to become, as rapidly as possible, independent of the vagaries of rainfall. I have reason to believe that the World Bank will be able to bring about a constructive solution of our canal waters dispute with India. We on our part will do everything in our power to assist such a settlement. The World Bank engineers are of the opinion that the water resource of the Indus Basin, if properly utilized, could adequately meet the requirements of both India and Pakistan in that region. It remains to work out an agreed plan for their exploitation.

In the meantime, a number of schemes for the extension of irrigation throughout Pakistan are in hand. We hope that within the next three or four years several million acres of new land will have been brought under cultivation and our food supplies placed on a firmer basis. Work on the execution of these projects is being speeded up and the Lower

Sind barrage and the Thal irrigation projects are already nearing completion.

Secondly, we must seek to become progressively independent of world forces in the matter of prices of our raw materials by processing them ourselves. By so doing we should not only protect our producers against sudden price fluctuations but would also strengthen our foreign exchange and revenue position. Our revenues would then become less dependent upon import and export duties raised on our own internal production. Above all, we are resolved, despite the heavy fall in our foreign exchange and revenue earnings, to live within our means.

You will see these features of our policy reflected in Pakistan's latest budget which, despite the extraordinary fall in our revenues, is again a balanced Budget. All unessential administrative expenditure has been ruthlessly cut down, as also all non-essential expenditure of foreign exchange, so that our foreign exchange earnings during this year will balance our foreign exchange expenditure. Again, despite the fall in our revenues, larger sums have been earmarked for development this year than at any time in the past. As much as Rs.670 million have been provided in this year's capital budget for development projects in the country. The budget has been aptly characterized as a transition budget. It marks the transition from a wholly agricultural economy to a semi-industrialized economy.

A number of development projects have been completed or are nearing completion. Considerable progress has been made in the matter of processing our raw materials. The total textile spindleage in the country has been quintupled since Partition. By the end of next year we should be able to meet from domestic production all our requirements of cloth. Our production of jute goods is already sufficient to meet internal requirements and we expect to be able to export substantial quantities of jute manufactures in the near future. Our output of domestic oil and coal has substantially increased and a large number of industries are being set up by the Industrial Development Corporation and private enterprise.

THE NEED FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL

We feel, however, that left to our own resources we would not be able to develop our country rapidly enough to bring about a marked improvement in general living standards in the near future. We therefore seek the assistance and co-operation of countries more industrially and technically advanced. We are grateful for technical and other aid so far received from the United States of America and from members of the Commonwealth under the Colombo plan. But what we particularly need is more foreign investment in the country.

In order to stimulate such investment we have taken measures to ensure that foreign capital receives just treatment and earns a fair reward. Facilities have therefore been provided for remittance of profits to the investing country and tax concessions have been granted to foreign investors on monies brought into the country. The Capital Gains Tax has been discontinued and the rate of super tax has been reduced. Also the exemption limit for super tax has been raised. In addition, certain special reliefs from taxation have been provided for industrialists who invest money in industrial enterprises before 1st April 1955.

As you know, we have a Six Year Plan for the development of Pakistan. Certain schemes in this plan aimed at producing some of its most essential requirements were taken up for execution as a matter of priority within the first two years of the plan. These schemes constitute collectively what is known as the Two Year Plan. The execution of this plan is almost complete. My Government have now decided to set up a whole-time Development Board, to which Pakistani and foreign experts will be appointed. This Board will review our existing development projects and formulate a comprehensive plan aimed at developing the country's resources within the shortest possible time. The Board will be entrusted not only with the task of preparing a blueprint for the development of the country but will constitute a sort of economic "Brains Trust" to advise Government how best these projects can be executed.

THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

I believe peace and progress are indivisible. It is not possible to have progress unless peace can be maintained. Clearly, if the country's economic development is to proceed uninterruptedly, we must have, as indeed all nations must have, a long period, if not a perpetuity, of peace. We therefore greatly welcome recent international developments which promise a lessening of international tension and will, we hope, lead to a settlement of disputes which separate the two world power blocs. We welcome the Soviet peace moves and hope that advantage will be taken of the present change to resolve, if not all, as many of the causes of international conflict as possible. We hope that the unhappy Korean episode will soon come to a close, and trust that this will be followed by the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to full membership of the United Nations. We support the proposal for a Four Power Conference and trust that the proposed Bermuda Conference will pave the way to it. We are, naturally, concerned at the continuance of disturbed conditions in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma and hope that peaceful conditions will soon be restored in those regions. By virtue of her

geographical location alone, with East Pakistan abutting on Burma, Pakistan has an obvious interest in current developments in South East Asia.

Geographically, again, Pakistan is also part of the Middle East and is vitally concerned in the removal of all causes of international conflict in the countries in that region, to whom we are bound by common ties of religion and culture and of identity of political and economic interests. We are deeply concerned over the continuance of the Anglo-Egyptian dispute regarding the Suez, the Iranian oil dispute and the Arab-Israel disputes and trust that they will soon be resolved. So long as these disputes are not settled it will be impossible to secure the co-operation of these countries in building up the collective strength of that region, so essential to the preservation of world peace. We would be very happy to assist in any way we can in the removal of these causes of international discord.

We consider that war would spell disaster for mankind and are resolved to do whatever we can to help avert such a catastrophe and to strengthen the forces of peace. To that end we shall continue to endeavour to assist in the removal, so far as we can, of all potential threats to peace.

THE FIRST OBJECTIVE

In this task we must first seek to settle Indo-Pakistan disputes that carry within them the germs of war, of hatred or suspicion. The settlement of these disputes is a matter of over-riding importance to the future of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and of peace in Asia. Once these disputes are settled, relations between India and Pakistan will be placed on a friendly and co-operative basis. Resources which they are now diverting to arming themselves against each other will then become available for the vastly more urgent task of raising the deplorably low living standards of the masses in that subcontinent. Their present low standards of living constitute, in my opinion, a serious potential threat to political stability in Asia. We must do everything in our power to raise this standard as rapidly as possible. It is because I am deeply impressed by the urgency of this vital issue that I attach great importance to my meetings with Pandit Nehru.

I see welcome evidence of increasing awareness also in the West of the urgency of promoting the economic development of countries in Asia. Only by furthering the prosperity of this vast region can the forces of democracy be strengthened in the free world. We devoutly pray that the differences which to-day divide the two world power blocs will be resolved, so that the bogey of war is banished from this planet and the

tremendous energies and resources of the world that are now devoted to the fashioning of instruments of destruction are released for the building of peace and the promotion of the welfare of mankind.

A REASSURING PICTURE

LORD HAILEY said that both Societies had decided, that on this occasion the address should not be allowed by the usual procedure of question and discussion; they recognized the sacrifice that Mr. Mohammad Ali had made in accepting their invitation to address them, and they did not desire to add to the strain they had imposed on his good nature. He (Lord Hailey) appreciated, as he was sure that the audience also appreciated, the manner in which Mr. Mohammad Ali had addressed himself to the description of the problems of Pakistan. When two portions of a great country had been suddenly torn apart, as had India and Pakistan, difficulties and troubles were bound to arise, and such troubles were liable to cause some animosity and some hard feelings. Every one present would agree that Mr. Mohammad Ali had spoken with great restraint of the difficulties which had arisen between the two countries, and had avoided any expression of animosity and hard feeling. Every one would join in hoping that the difficulties would prove to be only temporary, and would speedily pass away.

It was satisfactory that Mr. Mohammad Ali had been able to draw so reassuring a picture of the position which had been caused by the prolonged drought in Pakistan and the scarcity of water in its canals. In spite of the shortage of foreign exchange the Government had been able to finance the purchase of a considerable amount of wheat, and was going steadily ahead with its projects for development. It had great hopes of industrial expansion, and it was satisfactory to know also that the Government had realized the necessity of a policy which would favour the foreign investment that the country needed. Every one hoped that Mr. Mohammad Ali's talks in London with Mr. Nehru would lead to a solution of the standing difficulty about Kashmir.

All those among the audience who had seen the Coronation Procession must have had a feeling of nostalgia when they saw again the familiar figures of the bodyguard which accompanied Mr. Mohammad Ali's carriage. Things like that brought back to their minds memories which caused them both happiness and regrets. But all alike, whether their service had been in India or in Pakistan, whether they belonged to the East India Association or the Pakistan Society or both, were united in a single wish for the future contentment and welfare of the people of both countries.

The Further Development of Technical Instruction in India

By Sir ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR, DLITT, LL.D

A JOINT MEETING of the Association with the Y.M.C.A. Indian Students' Union and Hostel was held on Wednesday, 8th July, 1953, in the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, 41 Fitzroy Square, W.I. Mr. LAL RAMSHARAN SINGH, Minister Commercial, India House, presided. He said that Dr. Alagappa Chettiar was so well known that he need not say very much by way of introduction, there were, however, certain facts relating to his career which he would like to mention. Sir Alagappa was educated in Madras and London, and was a great industrialist and financier, being Managing Director of Alagappa Textiles (Cochin) Ltd., and was also connected with other firms in the textile industry.

Dr. Chettiar was extremely interested in education, particularly technical education. He was a life member of the Madras and Animalia Universities and was founder of the well-known College of Technology at Karaikudi. He was also associated with numerous institutions dealing with and teaching engineering, technology, the arts, and also with the Central Electro-Chemical Research Institution at Karaikudi. This would indicate the wideness of his interests. It was also a testimony to his generous nature for he had helped many of these institutions by donating land and money towards their establishment. He was very well known in fields where India needed to develop quickly and extensively.

Technically trained men constituted the wealth of a country and for the all-round development of India trained men were needed so that this subject was very important. It figured greatly in the five-year plan. The problem fell into two parts, there was first the provision of facilities for research and secondly of institutions for actual technical training. So far as the first was concerned he thought it would be found that results had been achieved in the last four or five years. To name only a few of the institutions there was the Indian Institute of Technology for higher technology, and the plan was to have regional institutions of technology on the same lines. A provision of £29 million had been made for technical education by the Central Government. The Government was also trying to assist the extension of research facilities by granting generous aid to various universities. The budget this year had devoted £262,000 to this object.

The second provision was a little more difficult. It needed larger organization and the provision of many more institutions for technical

and professional education. The programme for the next five years had been worked out by the All-India Technical Council to which body had been entrusted the task of over-all supervision and organization. The recommendations made by that Council had to a very large extent been accepted by the Planning Commission and those recommendations had been taken into account in the budget of the Central Government. The target aimed at was the provision of 410 technical and vocational schools by the end of the first-year period. It was intended to have 376 industrial schools, and at the end of the five-year period the increase, compared with 1950-1951 of technical and vocational institutions would be about 57 per cent. The increase in the number of industrial schools was not so spectacular, but even so there would be an improvement of 25 per cent in this type of school. The increase in the number of trainees at the end of the five-year period was expected to be of the nature of 63 per cent in technical and vocational schools, and for industrial schools the number of trainees would have increased by 48 per cent. This was very encouraging and there was no reason to be pessimistic. He felt that these targets would be reached.

The whole concept of technical education had been so devised and orientated as to meet the needs of modern engineering and industry. Technical secondary schools should be so devised that students who could pursue their studies at the University, either externally or internally, should be able to do so. Some students who wished to specialize or who were inclined to prosecute their studies on technical education should be in a position to do so. The second point was that there must be liaison between the educational institutions and the industrialists themselves: otherwise it might be found that trained people were not fully employed or if employed did not receive adequate remuneration for their work. It must be ensured that technicians were fully absorbed into the industry of the country.

This matter had been and was receiving the attention of the Government, expert help was being afforded by the Colombo Plan whilst other expert assistance was being given. Indian expansion required technical education and earnest efforts were being made to supply that need within a measurable period.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF INDEPENDENCE

SIR ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR said: The achievement of independence has conferred on the Government and the people of India certain privileges, but at the same time it has created certain responsibilities. Before 1947 the position of India was that of a minor under a competent guardian

who looked after the minor's interests with a narrow efficiency. To-day, the position of India is that of a person who, on attaining majority has come into a vast inheritance which while it has conferred an estate, has at the same time brought on onerous duties of personal management. The fact that these responsibilities have had to be assumed not under conditions of peace and plenty but during the immediate aftermath of a world conflict is significant. The prosperity and employment that were created during the war could not possibly be kept up in the same way after the cessation of hostilities. A vast section of the population engaged in combat and in occupations necessary for carrying on the war had to be provided with new employment. The partition of India accentuated the food problem by reducing the area under protected irrigation and by correspondingly increasing the liability to failure of crop. It also led to a gigantic movement of population on both sides and this uprooting of masses of people has upset the economic fabric to such an extent that it still continues to be one of the unsolved problems of the day. Further, a large part of the resources of the Government is being used up in purchasing and distributing food, and this limits the funds which would otherwise be available by way of foreign exchange for the importation of machinery and the promotion of international trade.

THE WELFARE STATE

The principle of the welfare state has now gained such universal acceptance that except in point of degree, the principle itself has ceased to be a matter of controversy. Even countries like the U.K. which have long flourished under a philosophy of stern individualism have now come to recognize that a modern state has to provide the basic demands of decent living for its citizens, that is, food, shelter and employment. This in turn has made Governments take up new types of responsibility to which neither experience nor tradition are sure and safe guides. It calls for a new orientation in administration. The point may be summarized by saying that protection rather than authority has become the main function of the State. Such a state therefore has to plan in respect of housing, employment, the creation and use of capital, the extent of public and private enterprise, besides creating an adequate machinery for the execution of the plan.

A democratic country which has till recently maintained itself on an agricultural economy and whose international trade was in raw material has yet another problem to face. It has to industrialize itself within a measurable period of time; so much so, it has not only to plan its industries and its public utilities and increase wealth and employment but it has also

to work out these plans so as to reconcile the not always harmonious objectives of quickness as well as permanency. One sometimes wonders whether the modern tendency to favour short term plans is altogether wise. Short term plans are not always the most economical nor can it be said that the more important capital works can be fitted into a short period. Nevertheless, there are points of view other than that of economics and it may be urged that the first flush of national feeling that follows the advent of freedom requires to be capitalized before the acerbities of internal politics have time to dull the edge of united endeavour. It should also be added that most short-term plans are but first instalments of future plans that follow. In a world where scientific techniques have advanced greatly the period necessary for the achievement of most projects has been considerably shortened. India has therefore rightly adopted a five year plan of development as her immediate objective and her efforts both in the industrial and the educational fields are being concentrated on the fulfilment of this plan.

NEEDS FOR SUCCESS OF THE PLAN

It may perhaps be said that in the relation to the resources readily available and the capital formation that may be reasonably anticipated, the plan is a little too ambitious and some critics have gone to the length of saying that the plan is unlikely to be fulfilled on this very ground. One need not, however, be unduly pessimistic on this point. Once the initial impulse is given and the plan is put into operation the fact that it may not be completed according to schedule either in point of time or in point of achievement should not be equated to any failure; rather it should be taken as a more practical adjustment of resources to results. One may even venture to predict that such an equilibrium will anyhow establish itself.

The success of a plan depends on many factors, such as the organization, the strength and popularity of the Government behind the plan, the willingness of the people to undergo sacrifices for the time being, the raw materials available, and the finances that can be raised; but above all it depends on the man power available to design and execute it in all its details. The creation of technical personnel however takes time. To some extent the gap can be filled by the recruitment of experts from abroad. But this can be done only at the level of planning and direction. The large force necessary for carrying out the plan has to be built up in the country itself. Indeed the building up of such a force is a major part of any national plan. Now the resurgence of Asia has become the common currency of political discussion.

This awakening has taken many forms, and one of them is a realization that no country can play its proper part in the modern world unless its scientific and industrial development keeps pace with those of advanced countries. In this respect India is in a peculiar position. It has produced eminent men of science who have won laurels all over the world but these achievements have been due to the genius of the individuals and is not broad based either on scientific or industrial advancement in general. Further these achievements have been largely confined to certain aspects of physics and mathematics and the vast fields of research in the biological sciences, chemical engineering, electrical technology, medicine and surgery and the like still remain to be properly studied, and for this purpose the potential talent of the individual has to be explored and canalized from the very early stages of education. This alone will make any plan of national development endure in the future. The importance of technical education in any national plan cannot be over emphasized.

TECHNICAL TRAINING FACILITIES

The problem of such technical education falls into two well defined paths. First, one has to examine the question of training technical personnel at the highest levels; those who would ultimately be made to direct the techniques of research and improve the field of knowledge itself. It is on them that the ultimate advancement of science rests. To quote a phrase used in plant breeding, they constitute the mother seed of all future growth. On this side the foundation has been well and truly laid by the starting of the numerous National Research Laboratories in India. During World War II when India became a major supply centre for the Allied forces in the East, attention had to be focussed on the importance of scientific and industrial research. Substitute materials had to be found for the manufacture of goods which had been previously imported and processes had to be developed whereby these substitutes could be used. As early as 1940 the Government of India constituted the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and two years later, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was also formed. A number of problems, mainly connected with military supplies, were dealt with and processes developed for the production of essential articles from indigenous material. More recently, the National Government of the country has initiated programmes for the scientific survey and appraisal of the resources, the development of improved processes and techniques by research, and the application of the results to production. Several agencies such as the Geological Survey have been strengthened in order

to explore more thoroughly the natural resources of the land. But the most significant development in this sphere has been the establishment of Research Institutes in different parts of India.

In addition to the National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, there are the National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; the National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; the Fuel Research Institute, Jealgora; the Central Food Technical Research Institute, Mysore; the Central Drug Institute, Lucknow; the Central Glass and Ceramics Institute, Calcutta; the Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; the Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee; the Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; and the Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.

It is also further proposed to have a Radio and Electronics Research Institute, a Mechanical Engineering Research Institute and a Central Salt Research Station. The Government also plan to establish a National Research Development Corporation in order to test the results of research on a quasi commercial scale.

How much the country owes for the planning and starting of these institutes to the foresight and knowledge of Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar will be appreciated only as time passes. It would further be apparent even to a casual observer that the work turned out by him merits the highest recognition and praise.

While the national research institutes are an undoubted step in the right direction, it is in respect of the more humdrum side of technical education that a great deal of work yet remains to be done. On the one hand the country needs more chemists, more engineers, more biologists, in fact more persons who can direct the work and design the blue print. These will come in between the actual workers and the men at the top in the research laboratories. On the other hand the need is even greater for technically trained men in the factories and machine shops who after a general basic education are given such training as will fit them into a modern programme of industrial development.

LIFE IN THE MACHINE AGE

There are a hundred-and-one ways in which the daily life of the individual is being affected by machines. Such amenities as plumbing, moving in stationary motors, electricity, printing, and refrigeration have in fact become part and parcel of the furniture of living. These machines have permeated into the smaller towns, and in South India where hydro electricity is plentiful though not cheap, even into the villages. It is in these days quite a common sight to listen to the radio and consume refrigerated drinks in the rural parts. This apart, there is an increasing

tendency for the mechanization of agriculture and industries based on agriculture. All over India, the medium sized tractor is being put to increasing use. In S. India, the provision of electrically run water pumps is a common feature and in certain central districts has more or less completely displaced bullock power for lifting water from wells. In the Indo-Gangetic valley the electrically run deep tube wells is a feature of the countryside.

There are post agricultural operations like the husking of rice and the decortication of groundnuts which are being done almost on a factory scale all over the countryside. Needless to add, motor transport has reached formerly inaccessible interiors. All the vast array of machines require considerable skill for proper installation and certainly a minimum amount of trained man power for proper maintenance. Otherwise these machines become a burden rather than a benefit to the common man. It has been noticed, for example, that for want of proper servicing facilities and due to unscientific maintenance, various tractors and pumps are lying idle all over India causing incalculable harm to the provision of much needed food supply. As agriculture is a seasonal operation the results of machines remaining idle at critical times can well be imagined; for once the season is lost one waits for a whole year till it comes round again.

THE ORDINARY WORKMAN

One may therefore say that both from the point of view of further development and of present maintenance, attention has to be directed towards the provision of sufficient to the common workman who wants to learn a special trade. This should be done by secondary education being divided into two parts. One part should lead on to higher studies, and the other part should branch into a technical course of short duration in which a dozen or so aspects should be properly taught. For this purpose there should be some provision from the very earliest stages of education for the testing and training of the manual skill of the pupils so that these who are likely to benefit by branching off into technical studies may fully benefit thereby. It is also necessary that in a poor country the burden of such education should not be such as to deter the common man from pursuing it. In the more advanced countries of the West, technical education is provided during the off hours in the evening, and it is my suggestion that such education should be afforded in both ways; mainly as part of a regular course of secondary schooling but also in an auxiliary way in the evenings for those who have to earn their living during the day.

It is not for a layman to say what exactly should be the courses that must be taught in these polytechnics, but one thing is clear, viz., that the provision of technical education should be directly related to the facilities that the country affords for employment. In other words, not only should there be a proper liaison between industry and the technical schools; the studies should themselves be so formulated to enable the trainee to start on his own in a small way if he wishes to lead an independent life. It has been noticed that while, on the one hand, it can be proved statistically that a great demand exists in the country for technical personnel, at the same time individual cases of unemployment of technical men is becoming distressingly common, and the layman may well wonder, whether in relation to an existing active demand the available personnel is not sufficient. This conflict is the result of several causes. First and foremost, it is due to the fact that the courses of education given in the technical institutes and colleges are not sufficient in themselves to enable the trainee or the graduate to be fitted into a specialized industry or take charge of modern precision machinery. All that they possess is a basic knowledge of the general techniques involved, and unless they are afforded opportunities in the industries themselves they cannot become complete engineers or technicians. There is a general failure to appreciate this fact, so that the industrialists are reluctant to absorb what they consider to be untrained manpower.

There are two remedies for this difficulty. Firstly, an arrangement, compulsory if need be, should be entered into between the training institutions and the industrialists by which the finishing course is undertaken in a factory itself. The second is that the training courses themselves should be so modified that they are oriented towards the demands of modern engineering industries. It would be worthwhile for the Government to appoint a committee to examine this question of realigning technical education in relation to the demands of modern industry and of introducing legislation if necessary, to establish a close liaison between the schools and the factories in the matter of technical education. Due to the causes mentioned above as well as to the general clamour for security there is a great rush in India even to-day for employment in Government, and there is an unconscious tendency for technical education itself to be designed so as to meet the demands of Government service.

INDIA IN THE MIDDLE STAGE

Further, it will not be out of place to mention that the private sector in industry has not been developing recently either at the rate or in the manner that it should be. This is partly due to the stringency of capital

which in turn is again partly due to a taxation policy that leaves very little surplus capital for future development in the hands of free industrialists. The new democratic impulse is liable to wrongly regulate itself against the accumulation of private fortunes but it is not fully realized that industry in India is in the middle stages of development. It has passed the stage of the individual *entrepreneur* in the family unit. It has not yet reached the gigantic dimensions of the impersonal corporations in which, while the holdings may be inherited, the management and control have almost a Government character. Till such stage is reached private industry cannot be divorced from the initiative of the rich business man, and to stifle him as a social and economic principle is to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

This is not a plea for the accumulation of private fortunes but a factual analysis of a situation that exists. *Per contra* it is only fair to say that industrialists in India, some of whom are financiers more than industrialist are not truly cognizant of the need and advantages of constant progress on the technical side and of employing fully qualified personnel. Nor is the system of endowments to technical institutes by industrialists properly developed. The first Finance Minister of the national Government introduced an amendment to the Income Tax Act to exempt such amendments as are connected with the concerned industry from taxation. It cannot be said that full advantage has been taken of this measure.

The problem of the independent technician who desires to start on his own is of considerable importance in a country of vast distances where increasing mechanization can be sustained only on the proper maintenance and servicing of all types of machinery. The problem is mainly financial. Technicians are not equipped with funds enough to start workshops, and the methods by which the starting of those workshops is to be financed requires the earnest consideration of the Government. From a social point of view the decentralization of industry in the sense of splitting up the earlier process amongst numerous small units and of concentrating the final stages of production in a large factory as is being done in Japan is a further point in connexion with the encouragement of the small independent workshop units.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

An aspect of the Five Year Plan which has evoked the enthusiasm of the people and has also brought forth a great deal of self help are the numerous community projects. The main feature of these projects is the work turned out by the villagers themselves in the form of voluntary labour, in the construction of roads, sinking of wells, the erection of buildings and the like. One should however, be careful and prevent the work

thus rendered from becoming ultimately infructuous for want of sufficient technical supervision. It may appear at first sight that the laying of a road to a village or the sinking of an ordinary well does not call for much technical skill. This however is far from being true. An ill-laid road will be washed away during the rains, the protection of the roads from cross currents of water can be overcome only by the plan being properly drawn up. Similarly the siting of a well, its depth, the prevention of contamination and the methods of lifting require to be thought out and executed under the supervision of trained men. The tendency to treat community projects as an opportunity to reward those who have made political sacrifices should be resisted at all costs. They should be under the supervision of technicians and it is needless to add that the field of employment thus opened out will be enormous.

In India, while a great deal of lip service is being rendered to the dignity of manual labour, it is not fully recognized that a proper co-ordination of labour to intellectual attainments makes for a better human being and a self reliant society. We owe it to our great leader Mahatma Gandhi for teaching us the dignity of manual labour. It is our duty to extend that philosophy to education at all levels. Though it may be said that the policies of Hitlerite Germany were directed towards War, yet there were certain aspects of his educational policy that were sound. One of them was that before graduation a course of practical farm work was made compulsory in the universities. A step in that direction is being taken by students in India who go out and help in the community projects but this is at best haphazard. It should be boldly laid down that a period of work in the community projects is part of any academic course.

IMPRESSIVE RESULTS

The CHAIRMAN expressed thanks to Dr. Chettiar for his paper. What struck him was its objectiveness and balance. The results which Dr. Chettiar mentioned were very impressive, but this was a matter in which complacency could not be afforded. Dr. Chettiar had clearly studied the problem and put his fingers on the matters which required careful consideration and solution. The question of liaison was important for students needing facilities to go to factories and other centres before completing their courses.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, as Chairman of Council, East India Association, thanked the Y.M.C.A. Indian Students' Union and Hostel, for the opportunity to join in a meeting in the magnificent Mahatma Gandhi Hall. He had not been there since the foundation stone was laid and he was certainly

impressed with the building and its fine architecture. This was the first time the Association had held a meeting there and he hoped it would not be the last.

It was his honour and privilege to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman. India was engaged on a great scheme of industrial development and there was no difference of opinion that if the growing population of India was to be given a higher standard of living it was not only necessary to develop agriculture but equally important to develop her scope in industry. It was not only necessary to have large institutions at the top for the managerial staff which had been recruited and trained abroad, but it was just as essential that the lower scale of worker, particularly the foreman, should be fully trained and qualified for his job. If he was trained and qualified then technical education both before he entered the factory and while he was employed there was an essential feature of his training to fit him for the job he had to fulfil so that it was most important that technical education should apply right through industry from the top to the bottom.

Mr. A. K. GHOSE, Chairman of the Students' Union, on their behalf thanked Dr. Chettiar for his lecture and for his visit to the Hostel. He was an industrialist, educationist and philanthropist, and such a combination in one man was extremely rare.

Dr. MALAIPERAMUMAN, Warden of the Hostel, associated himself with these remarks. Dr. Chettiar was an old member of the Students' Union which had the pleasure of welcoming him also when he was in this country in 1951. Dr. Chettiar was one of the representatives of the Madras University to the International Conference of Universities being held at Cambridge. In 1951 he brought a nephew with him and he had brought another nephew this time. It was a privilege to welcome Mr. Ramsharan Singh, one of the Ministers at India House. He was happy also to be associated with Sir Frank Brown in this joint meeting, and he hoped to be able to welcome members of the East India Association on a future occasion.

The Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the East India Association

(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

THE LECTURES of the year ending April, 30 1953, covered a wide range of matters relating to the three countries with which the Association is directly concerned, and events and trends elsewhere in the Asian continent. In January, Sir Percival Griffiths, who places the Council under deep obligation by his periodical surveys, gave his impressions of a tour of the self-governing nations of South-East Asia, including visits to Ceylon and Indonesia, as well as to India, Pakistan and Burma. In the same month Mr. Fareed Jafri, late editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, took us further afield by describing a tour to Australia on the invitation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, under the title of "Australia through Pakistani Eyes."

The attendance at meetings has been well maintained. The largest audience was when, in February, Mr. C. R. Attlee, MP, the Leader of H.M. Opposition, should have spoken on the visit he made to Pakistan, India, and Burma in January, when he attended the Asian Socialist Conference at Rangoon. Unfortunately Mr. Attlee was attacked on the previous evening by illness which prevented him from giving his address and kept him from his Parliamentary duties for some days. At very short notice Lord Ogmore kindly stepped into the breach. After outlining the main points which his Leader would have made, he gave a thoughtful address on post-war developments in Asia. In particular he referred to the surging tide of what he described as nationalism and reformism—nationalism politically and reformism economically—and the problem of evolving an alternative both to the old colonialism and Communism.

The last paper of the year read to the Association gave the impressions of Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, widow of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, as a representative of her country on the Third Committee of the seventh U.N. Assembly. She described the adoption of the Covenant for equality of political rights for women as a landmark in the 50 years of struggle by the women of the world to achieve such equality. Illness prevented the Begum's presence, but the paper, read by her secretary, evoked a thoughtful discussion.

It may be said that never in the long history of the Association have there been more authoritative lecturers than in the year under review. In October, for instance, a talk on the development of Parliamentary procedure in India was given by Mr. G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the House of the People, in Delhi, the Chamber which has the largest electorate in the world. In December, after the Economic Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, a meeting, held jointly with the Pakistan Society, heard the Hon'ble Kwaja Nazimuddin, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, speak on the affairs of his country. Authoritative also was the talk given in September on "Bombay in the last Five Years" by Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the Governor of that State during the first five years after the transfer of power. At this meeting the Chair was taken by His Excellency the High Commissioner for India, Mr. B. G. Kher, to whom a most hearty welcome was extended. Prior to taking up his appointment in London in the summer of 1952, Mr. Kher had been Chief Minister of the Bombay State for two periods, including that of the Governorship of Raja Sir Maharaj Singh.

Another authoritative voice was that of Viscount Templewood who, at the annual meeting in July, surveyed the recent constitutional history of the sub-continent, for, as Secretary of State for India, he was the chief architect of the India Act, 1935. This great measure enabled the transfer of power to take effect before the framing of constitutions for India and Pakistan. Expert knowledge can be claimed also for Mrs. Avabai Wadia in her talk in July on "Women's Role in India," for she is one of the most prominent workers in the influential Indian Women's Conference Association. The animated discussion turned largely on the problem of the too rapid growth of population in India.

The immense importance of economics in world affairs to-day was reflected in the subjects brought under consideration. In June, Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, then editor of the Calcutta weekly *Capital*, gave much valuable information on "The Indian Economic Outlook," and in the following month Mr. Ahmed E. Jaffer, President of the Pakistan Merchants' Association, spoke on the economic progress of his country.

During the year references were frequently made to the Indian Five Year Economic Plan. A first-hand study of it formed the background of an instructive address in March by Sir George Schuster, a former Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council, on the basis of a tour made in the cold weather of 1952-53, at the invitation of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. In his paper, entitled "India's Problems: Human and Economic" those problems were closely examined and suggestions made for meeting them.

Manufacturing and producing interests were brought to attention on two occasions. The first by Sir Joseph Kay's lecture in May (jointly with the Royal Society of Arts) on "India's Cotton Textile Industry." In the following month Sir Charles Miles spoke on the problems of the tea industry of India and Pakistan. This meeting was held at the Tea Centre, Regent Street, and members and their friends were the guests of the organisation at tea. A like hospitality was shown at 45 Berkeley Square in October when, under the Chairmanship of Raja-Sir Maharaj Singh, Mr. Roger Hicks spoke of the impending tour of a Moral Re-armament Group in India, Ceylon and other Asian lands, under the leadership of Dr. Frank Buchman.

Lord Birdwood has gained a reputation as a close student and exponent of world, and especially Asian, affairs. In May, soon after returning from a tour of the sub-continent, he gave an illuminating account of his impressions. Again in November, when members were the guests of the Royal Society of Arts, Lord Birdwood gave the moving story of the Indian Army. At this lecture, Sir Ian Jacob, also the son of an Indian Army Field Marshal, was in the Chair. The occasion was the Sir George Birdwood Memorial lecture in honour of the speaker's great-uncle, Sir George Birdwood.

In February, Dr. A. M. d'Rozario gave a lecture on "The Indian Student Abroad." Dr. d'Rozario was particularly well qualified to speak on this subject for he is Secretary of the Education Department at India House, Aldwych, and previous to taking up that appointment was Educational Attaché at the Indian Embassy in Washington. This survey was the more welcome as an important branch of the work of the Association is that of extending hospitality to students from India, Pakistan and Burma. In each University term, an evening party is held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, by the kind permission of the Director. In July, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, MP, gave the students an address on the advantages of membership of the Commonwealth with particular reference to India, Pakistan and Ceylon. In November, Mr. H. J. Dent, educational adviser to *The Times*, outlined present-day educational trends in Britain. In February Sir Edward Mellanby, FRS, spoke on the progress of medical science in India from the standpoint of his experience in organising the Drug Research Institute at Lucknow, of which he was for a short period the first Director. On each occasion the talks were followed by questions from the students.

With the exceptions stated, the lectures were given jointly with the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House, St. James's, and the Council expresses its thanks to Air Vice-Marshal Malcolm Henderson, the Director-General, and his staff for this valued co-operation.

Sir Frank Brown completed in September, 1952, twenty-five years' service as Honorary Secretary of the Association, and at a reception held in October Lord Hailey, on behalf of the members, presented Sir Frank with a gold watch and a cheque as a token of their appreciation of his long service as Honorary Secretary, and of the high regard which all members had for him. In making the presentation Lord Hailey referred to the great services Sir Frank had rendered to the Association over such a long period of years, and expressed the hope that it would be many years before he felt himself obliged to resign the office he had held so long and with such benefit to the Association. The reception was attended by more than 300 members and their friends.

At the annual meeting in July, Lord Hailey accepted re-election as President for a further two years. The Council is under deep obligation to him for his frequent attendances, on several occasions in the Chair, and his wise counsel. Vice-Presidentships were accepted during the year by His Excellency Ghulam Mohammed, Governor-General of Pakistan; His Excellency Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, High Commissioner in London for that country, and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Templewood.

The Council concurred in the decision of East and West Ltd. to change the name of the quarterly in which the proceedings of the Association are reported from *Asiatic Review* to *ASIAN REVIEW*, to bring it into conformity with modern usage. For 40 years the Review has been under the editorship of Mr. F. Richter, a member of Council.

The year has been marked by severe losses by death. The Council lost a helpful colleague by the death on New Year's Day of Sir Drummond Shiels. In July Viscount Goschen, an honoured Vice-President, died. The other losses included Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir Edward MacLagan, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, Sir Benjamin Robertson, Sir William Clark, Colonel Sir Charles Arthur, Sir Ralph Oakden, Sir Ness Wadia, Sir Philip Buckland and Captain S. T. Binstead, who had for two years represented the members at the annual audit of accounts. The Council also has to record the death of Mr. H. G. King, who joined the office in 1902 as Clerk, and retired on pension in 1948.

There were also losses by resignation and revision of the rolls. 53 new members were elected during the twelve months and at the end of the year the membership was 960.

During the year Lord Birdwood, Sir John Tait, and Sir Francis Low were co-opted to the Council, and Miss M. E. Whitehorn was succeeded by Mr. H. Oxbury, who has taken up the work at the British Council for overseas students. These appointments require confirmation at the annual meeting. The members of the Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election are—Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Hutton, Sir

Frederick James, Mr. Hatim Attari, Mr. R. K. Handoo, Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Hubert Carr, Lady Hartog, and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, VC, MD.

It is open to any member to propose at the annual meeting a candidate or candidates to fill vacancies on the Council, subject to not less than fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary.

J. A. WOODHEAD, *Chairman*.

13th May, 1953.

F. H. BROWN, *Hon. Secretary*.

Indian Constitutional Development: The War Years

By the Rt. Hon. L. S. AMERY, CH*

WHEN MY OLD FRIEND, Sir Frank Brown, whose long and distinguished services have been referred to in the Report, asked me a little while ago if I would follow up the address given to you last year by Lord Templewood I agreed, though with some hesitation at the thought of dealing with matters so recent and still subject to lively controversy. I can only hope that in giving you a factual statement of the action taken by the British Government and by the successive Viceroy's during the war years when I was Secretary of State for India, I shall bring out the continuity of the progress both aimed at and achieved without provoking fresh controversy.

Lord Templewood, whom your President rightly called a true friend of India, gave some account of the unwearied efforts and unflinching goodwill with which he, and indeed this country as a whole, worked, together with Indian statesmen, in the framing of that great piece of constructive statesmanship the India Act of 1935. He was right, I believe, in claiming that if that Act could have been promptly implemented it would have led in a very few years to complete dominion self-government for a united India. It is indeed a sad reflection on the suspicion and impatience with which that Act was received that Mr. Gandhi, years afterwards in the course of the war, admitted to Lord Linlithgow that he had read it for the first time and realized that it could have brought about the fulfilment of all that India desired. In any case Lord Templewood rightly claimed

*Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the East India Association on July 16, 1953.

that the Act provided the ready framework which at partition enabled two Governments to take up their task effectively and so avoid a general breakdown of law and order, and that its 478 clauses and 16 schedules have since been a rich quarry from which the framers of India's constitution have secured no small part of the materials of the present edifice.

THE HESITATION OF THE PRINCES

How did it come about that this great and promising legislative Act was never carried out? The direct cause was the failure of the Princes to live up to their original undertaking to join in the federal scheme. It must be remembered that the Statutory Commission, dealing with British India alone, concluded—and I believe rightly—that a constitution on British Parliamentary majority lines could not work at the Centre. It was only when, at the Round Table Conference in London the Maharaja of Bikanir announced the readiness of the Princes to join in a federal government, that the possibility of such a system at the Centre was contemplated. The Joint Select Committee in fact subsequently made it clear that the adherence of the Princes was an essential element in any stable government at the Centre. The reason for this was that even if the Princes would have added to the numerical predominance of the Hindu element in India, the Muslims could rely on them to be their allies in the defence of provincial rights against the centralizing tendency of Congress.

After the Act had passed the Princes began to feel doubts and, in spite of the sincere and patient efforts of the Government of India, began increasingly to make impossible stipulations for themselves or to withdraw altogether, with the result that the requisite proportion of adhesions under the Act was not realized. From their own point of view they made a fatal mistake. They lost a golden opportunity for preserving their essential position as rulers. Their autocratic powers would no doubt have been gradually modified under the influence of their neighbours. But they would have remained rulers, and not what they have now become, pensioners subject to good behaviour. The loss, too, has, I think, been India's. Some of their dynasties may have been relatively recent; but others go back to immemorial antiquity. But they all represented something historic, symbolic and colourful which we, with the value we attach to these things here in our own national life, cannot but think would have been well worth preserving in the life of India.

What was much more serious, however, is that the failure of the Princes to play their part undermined the whole justification for the federal scheme by bringing the two main elements in British India directly up

against each other. What is more, the consequent delay, during which the Provincial Governments were in operation, increased the conviction of the Muslims that they would be relegated to a definitely inferior position in any constitution dominated by Congress. That fear was enormously increased at the outbreak of war when Congress, not only refused co-operation unless the whole of India were in fact handed over to them on their own terms, but also ordered all the Provincial Governments to go on strike. The manifestation of the dictatorial power of the little group which controlled Congress was the direct cause of the decision of the Muslim League in the following March to declare openly for the partition of India and for the setting up of an independent Pakistan.

By then it had become obvious that the Act of 1935 could no longer be carried out in its original form. But the British Government and the Viceroy lost no time in making it clear that this did not mean a going back on our pledges of constitutional progress. On the contrary, in October 1939 Lord Linlithgow announced that Dominion status at the earliest possible date after the war was our definite plan, and that he wished to consult with representative leaders of the parties with a view to such modification of the India Act as might be necessary. That policy was re-affirmed by Lord Zetland the following April and by myself on succeeding him in May. Both Lord Linlithgow and I felt, however, that something fuller and more definite was required. Accordingly in the following August he issued, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, a statement making it clear that the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth remained the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament, and that the British Government would assent, with the least possible delay after the conclusion of the war, to the setting up of a body representative of the various elements in India's life in order to devise the framework of a new Indian constitution. He was at the same time authorized to invite representative Indians to join his Executive Council and to set up a representative War Advisory Council to meet at intervals for the discussion of the many questions arising out of the war.

INDIANIZATION AT THE CENTRE

From the point of view of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders the insistence upon agreement as the basis of a constitution was a direct challenge to their claim that they were entitled as the representatives of a majority in India, to take over the whole of India from the existing Government on their own terms. From that standpoint they never receded during the war. The Muslims, on the other hand, welcomed the announcement as a guarantee that they would not be handed over unconditionally,

Neither side were, however, prepared to join the Viceroy's Council or the proposed advisory body. The Viceroy accordingly enlarged his Council by the addition of experienced Indian administrators from both communities, men representative of the best elements in Indian life even if not representative in the parliamentary sense. The Executive which had consisted of four British and three Indian members now became one of four British and eight Indian members, thus giving the Indian element a definitely substantial majority.

NO DICTATION FROM WHITEHALL

This change in the composition of the Executive was contemptuously dismissed by Indian political opinion as a mere façade, the adding of a few yes-men to a Government under the thumb of the Viceroy, and dictated to in every detail by a meddling Secretary of State in Whitehall. Nothing, in fact, could have been further from the reality. Both Lord Linlithgow and, after him, Lord Wavell, worked in closest harmony with their Indian colleagues. What is more, from beginning to end, the views of the Government of India were never once over-ridden from Whitehall. Whatever the internal structure of the Indian Government, or its theoretical position *vis à vis* the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom, its relations to the British Government were, in practice, substantially the same as those of one of the self-governing Dominions. My duties, as I conceived them, were to act as the agent and representative of India's views and interests in the Cabinet, and as liaison officer between two Governments, and in no sense as justifying my interfering with the discretion of the Governor-General and his Council on behalf of any purely British interest.

Unfortunately the outward forms of an older relationship and, more particularly, the habit of questions and debates in Parliament, concealed the real situation, from the Indian even more than from the British public. They kept alive that sense of frustration and resentment which did so much to prevent Indian statesmanship from facing the difficulties which were inherent in India itself, and in no way due to the reluctance of the British Government to surrender power. Looking back I have often thought that the whole Indian approach to the constitutional problem might have been eased if we could have made that aspect of the situation clearer, or even if we had, at the end of the war, taken the bold line of declaring India completely independent of Whitehall under her existing constitution, pending the framing of one of her own devising.

Even more serious than this element of misunderstanding was the inability of Indian political leaders, on either side, to think in any other

terms than those of the English tradition of parliamentary majority government. My one hope was that, faced with the necessity of finding agreement, and genuinely anxious to preserve the unity of India, they would at least study the solutions which had commended themselves elsewhere under conditions far more closely resembling those of India than ours. Switzerland, in particular, offered the example of a country with four languages and two main religions which had avoided the very kind of issues which perplexed India. It had done so by providing for an executive elected by proportional election by the whole legislature, and so necessarily a coalition of all parties, and, at the same time, removing the members of that executive from partisan control by making the executive irremovable for the duration of the legislature.

The Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy, Germany and even the United States offered other methods of approach, at any rate more suitable than ours to the solution of the Indian problem. I urged the desirability of such a study in almost every speech that I made. But I knew I could not go beyond a certain point, still less make the matter one of definite Government policy, without provoking suspicion and resistance. My best hope lay in the fact that the Nuffield Foundation had invited the late Sir Reginald Coupland, with his exceptional experience of constitutional problems, to make an entirely independent unofficial study of the Indian situation. His report did, in fact, recommend a Government of the Swiss type. It also suggested an ingenious three-decker federation in which four regional Governments, based on the three main river systems of Northern India plus the Deccan, intervened between a Centre with very limited powers and the multitude of provinces and states. But, though the Swiss system was mildly endorsed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Conciliation Committee in 1944, the real political leaders paid no attention to it. The fact is they were too English minded to be able to think in terms of India's problem. They could only think of advance on the English line of rails and, as they thought of advancing in opposite directions, the result was inevitable.

In spite of these inherent difficulties the British Government felt, by the beginning of 1942, that it might make a further advance, both as regards the composition of the Viceroy's Executive, and as regards the method of approaching the permanent constitutional solution. To meet the criticism that our insistence on agreement was an insidious device for indefinite independence—including the right of secession affirmed in the most explicit fashion—held good equally for India as a whole, or for any group of provinces and, by implication, of States, which chose to pursue a separate course. This was, in fact, conceding Pakistan, but doing so in the hope that the various elements in India's life, meeting in

free and unfettered convention, might still realize the immense advantages of unity, and find some workable compromise.

At the same time we offered if our proposals were accepted, to convert the Governor-General's Executive at once into one composed entirely, save for the Commander-in-Chief, of Indian political leaders. The full importance of that offer I have already indicated in what I have said of the real, as distinct from the theoretical, relationship of the Government of India to that of the United Kingdom. It was a bold and generous offer. That sagacious Congress statesman, Mr. Rajagopalachari, openly advocated acceptance, and Mr. Nehru is understood to have favoured it. But Mr. Gandhi, so at least it is generally believed, urged rejection. Anyhow it was rejected, and rejection emphasized by a campaign of civil disobedience, amounting in practice to open rebellion, which, formidable for a while, presently petered out in face of the loyalty of the police, the hostility of the Muslims and the apathy of the population at large.

LORD WAVELL'S EFFORTS

All that we could do was to approve of Lord Linlithgow's yet further Indianization of his Council to eleven Indian against four British members, including himself, and to declare that our offer held good, in the letter and the spirit, if there were any willingness to re-open the matter. It was not until the close of 1944 that Lord Wavell felt that, with the approaching end of the war, a favourable moment for such a re-opening had arrived. He came home early in 1945, and on his recommendation the Government authorized him to negotiate with Indian political leaders on the basis of a Council composed entirely, save for the Commander-in-Chief, of Indian politicians, in which the two main elements, Muslim and Caste Hindu (in effect Congress) should be equally represented.

At the same time the Government announced its intentions of appointing a United Kingdom High Commissioner in India to represent British interest, in order to remove all suspicion that the Governor-General's reserve powers were exercised for any other purpose than the peace and welfare of India. But even all Lord Wavell's sincerity and good will could not prevail against the dogmatic intransigence of the party leaders. At the Simla Conference Congress insisted on including a Muslim among its representatives, and so absurdly overweighting Muslim representation on the Executive, just to affirm its claim that it covered the whole nation, while Mr. Jinnah preferred to break up the Conference rather than admit on the Executive a Muslim who was not one of his followers. It was

typical of Lord Wavell that in his broadcast announcing the failure of the plan for which he cared so deeply he should have insisted on taking the blame for failure himself.

BRITISH GOODWILL

There my story ends. I do not propose, at any rate on the present occasion, to discuss the merits or drawbacks of the methods followed by my successor Lord Pethick-Lawrence, or by the Government which he represented. All I would say now is that they acted, whether wisely or unwisely in detail, with the same, but no greater, good will towards India than their predecessors. I believe that this country, by whatever party or government represented, has consistently shown that quality towards India in our day, in the face of the tremendous difficulties inherent in the nature of the problem, as well as of much natural impatience and misunderstanding. All cause for impatience has receded into history, together also, I fear, with more ideal solutions for which some of us hopefully worked, and which greater patience and mutual tolerance might have achieved. On the other hand a growing historical sense is increasingly leading to a better understanding in India of our past difficulties and of our past and present goodwill to both the nations of the Commonwealth which have come into being. For both of them all England, and, not least, those of us who have at any time been associated with the problems of Indian Government, wish both individual success and even closer mutual co-operation for their common prosperity and common security in the wider brotherhood of the Commonwealth.

East India Association

Eighty-Sixth Annual Meeting

THE EIGHTY-SIXTH annual meeting of the Association was held on Thursday July 16, 1953, at Overseas House, Park Place, S.W.1.

The President, the Right Hon. Lord HAILEY in welcoming members to the meeting, said they had good reason to congratulate themselves on the continued signs of its vitality. That was especially shown by the attendance at its meetings, and the interest shown in them.

It was a special cause of pleasure to the members that it had, during the year, been possible to arrange for joint meetings with the Pakistan Society.

He was sure that all members of the Association would join with him in thanking Sir John Woodhead, the members of the Council and Sir Frank Brown for the time and trouble they had spent in securing for them so interesting and so informative a series of addresses during the last year. Members of the Association had known an India which was, in one sense, passing away, but their interest in it was by no means limited to memories of the past, for they continued to have a lively interest in present problems.

If he now referred to one outstanding problem in particular which had engaged much of their attention lately, namely that of Kashmir, it was because it seemed to be the central and focal point of difference, which kept alive the tension between India and Pakistan. But events during the year, though they had brought no solution of the problem, seemed to show that if the solution was to be reached at all, it was less likely than before that it would involve an armed conflict. Indeed, there seemed of late to be a growing spirit of independence in Kashmir itself that might give both parties, India and Pakistan, reason to take a new view of their own claim to control it.

To-day they were about to hear an address from Mr. L. S. Amery, who would speak to them of the constitutional developments in India during the war years. It was a subject on which his knowledge was unrivalled, and there was no one who could better interpret to them the development of British policy in regard to India during that critical period in the history of the country. But Mr. Amery not only has unrivalled knowledge of that period; what he had to tell them would be all the more valuable because it came from one who, during a long political career, had gained a unique reputation for sincerity and honesty of purpose.

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE YEAR

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD, Chairman of Council, in reporting on the financial situation, said that according to the cash account expenditure during the year 1952-53 exceeded receipts by £66. If, however, the sum of £44 credited as interest in the Post Office Savings Bank account was taken into account the deficit was reduced to £22. Again, owing to the death of Mr. King, the late Assistant Secretary, the expenditure of £52 incurred on his pension in 1952-53 would not recur. It was possible, therefore that the year 1953-54 might show a small surplus. The financial position was quite satisfactory and in this connexion it would be realized that the membership subscription had not been increased from the rate fixed in 1866. There must be few Associations in such a happy position.

The balance at the audit of the Hospitality Account was decreasing, because no subscriptions to that Fund had been received recently. The cost of the annual reception, the annual meeting, and parties for Indian and Pakistani students was met from this Account. The Council would be most grateful for any donations to this Account.

Members may have noticed that the credit balance at the bank as shown in the cash account was always a considerable amount; on the 30th April 1953 it was over £1,000. The explanation of this was that subscriptions are paid in the month of January, that is in the last quarter of the Association's financial year.

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

LORD BIRDWOOD remarked that, although he knew very little about accounts, he did note that the Association's balance sheet showed liabilities as nil, which was something every one could understand and appreciate. He moved the adoption of the Eighty-Sixth annual report for the year ending 30th April 1953, and the accounts.

DR. SUDHIN NATH GHOSE, seconding the motion, expressed his keen appreciation of the very great service which was rendered by the Association at the present time, and his gratitude, which all must share, for the continued help and guidance given by Sir Frank Brown. The ASIAN REVIEW, now in its 68th year, had been for forty years under the editorship of Mr. F. Richter, and it was a high privilege for any periodical to have such an editor. In spite of all the work done by the Association, the accounts showed no appreciable deficit, which was also extremely satisfactory. He had great pleasure in seconding the motion.

The motion was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

MISS RACHEL PARSONS proposed the re-election of the following members of Council retiring by rotation—Mr. Hatim Attari, Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Hubert Carr, Lady Hartog, Mr. R. K. Handoo, Lt.-General Sir Thomas Hutton, Sir Frederick James and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, VC, MP, and moved the confirmation of the co-option by the Council of Lord Birdwood, Sir Francis Low and Sir John Tait. In so doing, she wished to emphasize the gratitude owed to Sir Frank Brown, who had given so much time and energy to helping the Association. All the members of Council she had mentioned had done excellent work in the past and, as all had agreed to serve again, she

wished to take this opportunity of expressing her earnest belief that India, Pakistan and Ceylon all had a great future as members of the British Commonwealth and her great hope and expectation of their co-operation in preserving the unity and strength of the Commonwealth.

The motion was seconded by Sir EDWARD BENTHALL, and agreed to *nem. con.*

The Rt. Hon. L. S. AMERY then delivered the address given on page 254 of this issue. At its conclusion the PRESIDENT expressed the warm thanks of the Association to Mr. Amery. They had had at last year's annual meeting an authoritative account of the making of the great India Act of 1935, and they had had to-day an equally authoritative statement of British policy in regard to India during the years 1940-45. He believed that Mr. Amery's address, like that of Lord Templewood last year, would be regarded by historians as a contribution of exceptional value to the history of this period.

As for Mr. Amery himself, no one could have any doubt of the singleness of purpose with which he had striven to secure a solution of the constitutional problems of India, or any doubt that he was animated by the one desire to secure not merely the welfare of India, but its unity. It was the key to all that Mr. Amery had done during the period of his office as Secretary of State.

India in the International Field

PROFESSOR CATLIN'S TALK

A SOCIAL gathering, chiefly for students from India, Pakistan, and Burma, was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies on Friday evening July 3. Sir JOHN WOODHEAD presided.

Professor GEORGE CATLIN, PHD, recently Provost of the Mar Ivanios College, Travancore, was the guest speaker and entitled his talk "India and NATO." He said that he was aware that many present were experts on the Indian sub-continent and he had no intention of telling Indians about India or Pakistanis about Pakistan. Every year he made a New Year resolution to claim expert knowledge about less and less. Nevertheless, as Jefferson had said that he would like to be remembered

• for three things, so he would like to be remembered as having provoked a change in the U.S. Constitution (the Eighteenth Amendment); as having been one of three to report to the Governmental Parties of Western Europe on the Union of Europe; and as having been the draftsman of the Declaration in support of Indian Independence, signed by several British M.P.'s and some future Ministers of the Crown. This apart he could only claim, as a basis for any observations, to have been in India before the take over, during the take over and after the take over; to have met Mahatma Gandhi five times; and to have travelled from Calcutta to New Delhi with a proposal which would have kept a united Bengal, signed by both Hindu and Muslim politicians, in his pocket. He made these things the excuse for venturing any observations at all where too many were all too ready to hand out advice. As to NATO, he could only repeat that the shaping of this and of the Strasbourg Council of Europe sprang from the common urge to greater union with which he had been privileged to be associated as, for a short while, on the International Executive of the Nouvelles Equippes Internationales on which French Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Maurice Schuman and the great German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, had both served as leaders of delegations.

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

The notion of One World recalled to most people the name of Republican Presidential Candidate Wendell Willkie. However, the early inspiration of the United Nations had faded after incidents in Iran, Greece and, above all, the Berlin air-lift and the death of Jan Masaryk. Instead, a more limited system had had to be adopted, using as its core a nucleus consisting of those who were in fact prepared to co-operate in good faith. Willkie himself had called for what he called a social and economic union of the United States and the British Commonwealth, including presumably those portions which were in the Pacific and on the Indian Ocean's shores. A significant change, from this all-Commonwealth concept of all races, was made when Walter Lippmann and others began to talk, no longer in Anglo-American terms, but in other terms, in some ways narrower and in others wider, of an "Atlantic Community." This included, not indeed all of Europe but at least most of allied Europe, especially France, the Low Countries and Scandinavia. Moreover Lippmann had been good enough to embody a suggestion of the lecturer's, later taken up by Sir Robert Boothby, and to speak of an "organic union" as distinct from something either federal or merely functional.

Most unfortunately the embodiment of this Atlantic concept in the concrete form of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation had been far

too formal, geographic and military. Under the NATO Constitution, whereas Turkey, Greece (or even Russia) could be admitted by unanimous agreement, a new non-European state such as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan, India or Ceylon could not be admitted without changing the Constitution, and the unity of the Commonwealth of Nations was therefore broken. It was small consolation to know that there was also the ANZUS bloc. What was perhaps more relevant was that the NATO Constitution was supplemented by the Ottawa Declaration, and especially clause 2, a Canadian, Low Countries and Norwegian supported addition, which visualized not only economic co-operation but co-operation in the field of culture, information, propaganda and intelligence. The present situation of NATO, especially after Sir Winston Churchill's Pilgrim Dinner speech, when General Ridgway also spoke, and his speech on Russian affairs, was one of considerable ambiguity in which some might feel that Lord Ismay had been left in the lurch, but this could well be an inadequate interpretation of the situation.

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS

Mr. Nehru at least had made quite clear the intention of India to join no blocs and, U.N. apart, to enter into no entangling alliances, but to have complete freedom of manoeuvre in policy. This, however, must not be construed as removing India and Pakistan out of the sphere of practical world politics. The influence of the premiers of these two countries at the recent Commonwealth Conference was patent, and not least interesting was Pandit Nehru's cordial cable to General Eisenhower on Korea which evoked a not less cordial reply. However, the strategic facts of geography remained unchanged. India, as the Sirdar Panikkar had pointed out, had a high interest in the naval strategy of the Indian Ocean and indeed in the line of communications from Suez to Singapore, and in the latter base itself. Malayan self-government was a necessary goal although, owing to the Chinese percentage in the population, not without its complications. He thought that the other portions of the Commonwealth might be associated in NATO, perhaps as the Australians had said, as observers. Especially this might be practicable under clause 2 of the Ottawa Declaration. A common front of ideas between East and West was required, to which each should contribute. He expressed disagreement with the interpretations of the relation both by Professor Northrop and Professor Toynbee. Only on a very qualified basis could Russia be regarded as Asiatic, instead of the heir of Byzantium, or as a defendant rather than a great imperialist and colonial power. The ideas which required general acceptance as part of the common front

were those of nationalism, of the rights of nations, Asiatic and even African as well as European or American, with the translation of the ideas of Canning into contemporary terms, bringing in Asia to redress the balance of Europe; and also the idea of this nationalism being placed, as the Mahatma thought, within the context of internationalism and its duties, including a spiritual and practical warfare against racial discrimination in any continent. For the first time since Marathon there was a new Asia and no North Atlantic strategy, or even over-all strategy of democratic ideas, was possible without this immense historic fact being given due weight and consideration.

The Objects and Policy of the East India Association

(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of "the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore is continuing its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely:

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.

India's First Five Year Plan

By J. J. ANJARIA

ON DECEMBER 8, 1952, India's Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, presented to Parliament the First Five Year Plan as finally worked out by the Planning Commission of which he is Chairman. The Plan was approved by the Indian Parliament on the 19th December, 1952, and the Central and State Governments are now concentrating their efforts on the implementation of the Plan.

India's First Five Year Plan is a document of more than national significance; for the choice of basic objectives and means to be adopted and the scale and pattern of development envisaged in the Plan have a direct bearing on the problem of the right economic and social framework for an underdeveloped country seeking rapid development.

The need for economic and social planning in India was realized even before Independence. As early as 1937, the Indian National Congress had set up a Planning Committee with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman to examine the problem of planned all-round development of resources. That Committee covered extensive ground and produced a number of reports on different aspects of economic and social planning. Its work was, however, interrupted on account of the incarceration of its Chairman, and, in any case, a concrete plan of development could not be worked out so long as the country was not free to determine its own economic policy.

Within less than three years of the attainment of independence, and immediately after the more urgent problems arising out of Independence and the partition of the country had been settled, the Government of India turned its attention to the problem of planned economic development in the country. The Planning Commission was appointed in March, 1950. It was asked to make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country and to formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilization of the same. As mentioned earlier, the Commission published its Draft Outline Report in July, 1951. Certain modifications have been made in this Draft Plan in the light of discussions with all sections of the public including the different political parties in the country, and the Commission has now presented the finalized version of the Five Year Plan.

The Plan involves an expenditure in the public sector of Rs. 2069 crores* (\$4310 million) over the period 1951-56. 17.5 per cent of this

*1 crore=10 million.

expenditure is to be devoted to agriculture and community development, 27.1 per cent to irrigation and power, 24 per cent to transport and communications, 8.4 per cent to industry and over 20 per cent on social services including rehabilitation of displaced persons.

Agricultural development including irrigation and power have been given the highest priority in the Plan. This is because India is at present deficit not only in foodgrains but also in raw materials like cotton and jute. The productivity of agriculture is exceedingly low, and unless this is improved substantially and the economy strengthened at the base, industrial development cannot proceed far. The Plan aims at increasing the area under major and minor irrigation by 19.7 million acres. It also includes schemes for land reclamation, distribution of seed, manures and fertilizers, the provision of a national extension service and the creation of additional facilities for rural finance and marketing.

CO-ORDINATED APPROACH

Agriculture in India is a way of life rather than a business, and the various experiments in agricultural improvement that have been made in the country, indicate that the best way to solve this problem is through intensive developmental work in selected areas covering in a co-ordinated manner all aspects of rural life. This co-ordinated approach is the essence of the community development projects, 55 of which have already been initiated and more are to be undertaken in the years to come so as to cover by stages almost the entire country. Through these various measures it is hoped to increase the production of foodgrains in the country by 7.6 million tons, that is, by 14 per cent; of cotton by 1.26 million bales—an increase of 42 per cent; of jute by 2.09 million bales—an increase of 63 per cent. Moderate increases in the production of sugar cane and oilseeds are also proposed. The target for additional capacity for electrical energy is set at 1.2 million kilowatts which, though relatively small as compared to needs as well as potentialities, represents a 50 per cent increase over the capacity available in 1950-51.

About Rs. 922 crores, that is, as much as 45 per cent of the total expenditure under the Plan, is to be devoted to agriculture, irrigation and power. In the programme for transport and communications which absorbs another 24 per cent of the total outlay a large part is accounted for by the rehabilitation of the railways. For industrial development in the public sector, the Plan provides for an expenditure of Rs. 94 crores. This will enable the Central and State Governments to complete the various industrial projects they have in hand such as the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the Machine Tools Factory, the

Dry Core Cable Factory, the Newsprint Factory, etc. The major responsibility for industrial expansion in this Five Year Plan period will rest largely on private initiative and resources but these will be supplemented at certain points by assistance from the public sector. The industrial plan includes a provision of Rs. 15 crores towards the setting up of a new iron and steel plant for which participation of indigenous and external capital is to be sought. In addition, the Plan provides a sum of Rs. 50 crores for development of basic industries such as the heavy electrical industry together with ancillary transport facilities.

The projects in the public sector relate mostly to the manufacture of capital goods or of intermediary products which are of vital importance from the point of view of immediate needs as well as in terms of future economic development. As to industries in the private sector, the Plan has indicated an order of priorities and has worked out schemes of expansion in consultation with the representatives of the industries concerned. The emphasis here is again on capital and producer goods industries such as iron and steel, aluminium, cement, heavy chemicals etc. In respect of consumer goods industries, the accent is on fuller utilization of existing capacity. Taking the public and the private sectors together, the major increases in production which are expected at the end of the five year period are as follows: heavy chemicals 156,000 tons, fertilizers 529,000 tons, pig iron 310,000 tons, steel 394,000 tons, cement 2.1 million tons. India is expected to be able to manufacture 150 locomotives annually by 1955-56, and a large measure of expansion is envisaged in respect of diesel engines, power-driven pumps, textile machinery and several other engineering lines. Production of cloth is scheduled to rise by 1,872 million yards, of sugar by 340,000 tons, of salt by 429,000 tons, of paper and paper board by 86,000 tons and of sheet glass by 20,000 tons over the level of 1950-51. The total investment necessary for financing the industrial expansion in the private sector is estimated at Rs. 233 crores. In addition, there is a large backlog of arrears of depreciation to make up and it is estimated that an investment of Rs. 150 crores or so will be required during the five year period for modernization and replacement of plant and machinery.

SOCIAL SERVICES

The Plan for social services is estimated to cost Rs. 340 crores; of this Rs. 156 crores is for education, about Rs. 100 crores for medical and public health services, Rs. 49 crores for housing, Rs. 29 crores for backward classes, Rs. 7 crores for labour and labour welfare, and Rs. 4 crores for assistance to voluntary social welfare organizations. In the States,

the Plan contemplates only a limited measure of expansion in social services, but at the Centre Rs. 20 crores have been provided for further development in the field of primary and secondary education. An extensive programme of malaria control is also to be taken in hand. The requirements in this sphere are very large and there is obviously need for keeping a balance between development of productive activity as such and the expansion of social services. There is, in a country like India, immense scope for direct utilization of manpower for provision of community services and this the Plan has duly emphasized.

How is a country like India to finance a Plan of this magnitude? In 1950-51 the development expenditure of public authorities was about Rs. 232 crores. This, it is expected, will go up to about Rs. 500 crores by 1955-56. The Plan has made a careful assessment of the financial resources available, and it is estimated that Rs. 1,258 crores will be available over the five year period through savings from current revenue and from market borrowings; small savings and other capital receipts of the Central and State Governments. This will necessitate the most careful husbanding of domestic resources, especially as the objective is not merely to divert savings from the private to the public sector but also to enlarge the total part of savings on which both the sectors have to draw. External resources already received towards the financing of the Plan amount to Rs. 156 crores. This gives a total of Rs. 1,414 crores by way of resources in sight for meeting the programme of public expenditure outlined above. Of the balance of Rs. 655 crores (\$1,364 million) still needed, Rs. 290 crores (\$604 million) will be available from the sterling balances available to India during the five year period but there still remains the problem of finding the remaining Rs. 365 crores (\$760 million). This is the measure of external resources needed to enable India to implement the Plan without undue strain.

EXTERNAL AID

That external resources have a part to play in promoting the development of an underdeveloped country in its early stages has been recognized in the Plan. Nevertheless, the programme envisaged in the Plan is not "inflexibly conditioned" on the availability of external resources. This means that even if external assistance is not forthcoming to the full extent indicated, the Governments in the country will endeavour to carry through the Plan in full even at the cost of some suffering and privation in the country.

The Five Year Plan as thus worked out will raise national income by about 11 per cent. Since population continues to grow at about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per

cent per year, the net increase in per capita incomes at the end of the Plan period will be only small. However, the capital structure of the community will have been greatly strengthened; irrigation and power facilities will have added substantially to the production potential in the country; a gigantic fertilizer plant will have been in operation; the existing iron and steel plants would have been expanded, and the construction of the new plant will have made considerable headway. The Planning Commission itself looks upon this Plan as in the main a plan for preparation, a plan whose objective is to remove the more urgent deficiencies in the economic structure and to lay the foundations for more rapid growth in the future.

The Report of the Planning Commission outlining this Five Year Plan covers not only the programmes of expansion to be undertaken by the Central and State Governments; it attempts to view the economy as a whole and to sketch the major lines of development in the private sector as well. Some of the schemes of industrial expansion in the private sector will also necessitate participation of foreign capital. Taking domestic savings, releases from sterling balances available in the period and the possible external investment in the economy, the total investment programme for the country as a whole is estimated to work out at Rs. 3,500 to 3,600 crores over the period of the Plan. This involves a stepping up of the rate of investment in the economy from a level of about 5 per cent of national income in 1950-51 to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by 1955-56.

"The relationship," to quote the Report, "between political forms and the spirit underlying them is a vast and intricate subject in which no easy judgments are possible. But it must be emphasized that for democratic planning to succeed it will have to energize the entire community and to place before it a goal of endeavour which will call forth all its latent creative urges." The problem that India faces is not one of relatively small adjustment in the economic system so as to produce a little more of goods and services; it is one of transforming the economy rapidly so as to raise productivity and the level of material welfare substantially for the vast masses of the country. The rate of progress, especially if it is to be ordered progress, is bound to be relatively slow in the early stages, but India's Five Year Plan is an earnest of the determination of the country to get off to a right start so as to be able to accelerate the pace of advance quickly over the years to come. No country of the size and dimensions of India has so far tried to plan rapid development through democratic means, and India's first Five Year Plan is in this sense a bold new adventure of great significance not only for India but for other under-developed countries as well.

Women and the Five Year Plan

By NAJOO BILIMORIA

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN of the Government approved by the Parliament of New Delhi (published recently) aims at rebuilding and revitalizing Indian life in all its aspects. Already its effect is being felt in every corner of India; whether it is with the new river valley schemes or community projects or building new wells and roads and school-houses, there is a fresh stir and a new awakening among the various sections of the people.

Apart from the general benefits which the Five Year Plan seeks to confer on the people, it is of particular interest to women in some ways. There are certain aspects of Indian life in respect of which women have so far been worse sufferers than men and it is these ills that the Plan seeks to remedy. The women of India feel happy that a member of their sex has been placed in charge of these subjects which especially concern women, viz. health, education and social welfare. Ever since her appointment to the Planning Commission, Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh has been making untiring efforts for the implementation of the objectives laid down in the Plan.

For the improvement of the Health of the Indian women in particular, the Plan proposes to increase the number of women doctors, nurses, midwives and health visitors during the five year period by providing more facilities for training and more attractive conditions of work. The female personnel of the medical services is to increase over the corresponding figure for 1950-51 by 35.6 per cent for nurses and 37.3 per cent for midwives by the end of the plan period. The number of hospitals and dispensaries will also be increased. Both ante-natal and post-natal clinics will form an essential feature of all hospitals with maternity beds. The number of beds should also be doubled to its present strength and 10 per cent of them should be reserved for ante-natal cases. Post-natal care for a longer period than what is afforded now, is also an essential aim. Provision has also been made in the plan for maternity and child health services as an integral part of the general health services in both rural and urban areas. The Plan recommends the inclusion of a specially trained woman medical officer on the staff of each Directorate of Health Services. In urban areas, each centre should have a minimum staff of one health visitor and two midwives to serve a population of 10,000. Also, it is desirable to have a woman doctor with post-graduate training in maternity and child health in charge of these centres. In rural areas,



THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, DISCUSSES
THE PLAN WITH INDIAN WOMEN

there should be a health unit for 10,000 to 12,000 of the population. The maternal and child health staff in such a centre should be two midwives. A number of such centres would form a higher unit with a woman doctor and two health visitors. In co-operation with the U.N.I.C.E.F., the Central Government is establishing a department of mental and child health at the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta—to serve as a national training centre. Already Madras has 514 maternity and child welfare centres and Bombay 236.

Family planning is another subject which is becoming increasingly important and a special section for family planning has been established in the Ministry of Health. The Central Government has three experimental centres for pilot studies in family planning methods. They have also allocated a sum of Rs. 6.5 millions in the Plan for a family planning programme.

Women's education finds an important place in the Five Year Plan and it is admitted that the problem of female education in India is primarily that of grown-up women who have had to suspend their studies in their early teens. Social service agencies are to organize and conduct short-term courses for general education as well as for training in crafts for women. The Plan lays an emphasis on the vocational or occupational aspects of women's education to direct their energies into productive channels thus adding to the national income. Women are also encouraged to take to those universally recognized fields for which they have a better aptitude than men.

The Plan also recommends part-time schools and colleges and extension lectures in which the courses are based on a harmonious combination of theory and practice—as in other countries.

Although most of the social welfare work in India is done by private agencies especially women's organizations, such as the National Council

of Women in India, the All India Women's Conference, the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (this is not an exclusively women's organization), the Government is waking up to its responsibilities. Already the governments of Bombay and Madras have set up family welfare agencies where information on family planning, marital hygiene and domestic economy is given.

There is a greater emphasis in the Plan on social education among the adult members of the rural community which includes both men and women. At least 30 per cent of the people (and 10 per cent of the women) within the age group of 14 to 40 are to receive the benefits of social education. The term "social education" includes "an all-comprehensive programme of community uplift through community action." It is now recognized that literacy alone is not education and adult education should also include a knowledge of hygiene—a proper use of leisure and responsibility—for citizenship. Mobile caravans, consisting of four vans, visit the villagers at regular intervals. One of the vans is used as a stage, one as a cinema and the other two carry mobile exhibits relating to public health, agriculture and village crafts. After a caravan has visited a village, a group of social education teachers carry on an intensive programme. A sum of Rs. 75 million is provided for social education in the plan.

The training of social workers especially to meet the problems of large cities is daily gaining ground and the number of trained workers is increasing. They tackle problems of sanitation arising out of congestion in mill and labour cases, of the destitute and the physically-handicapped and of juvenile delinquency. It is good to see so many women workers taking seriously in hand these problems; recently women have been appointed as magistrates in juvenile courts where they have been acquitting themselves very well.

The Plan aims at reviving the old spirit of self-sufficiency which used to be the hall-mark of every Indian village. Each home used to be a busy, thriving bee-hive of industry. Mahatma Gandhi and some of our modern artists have brought into prominence the beauty of our village arts and crafts. Now-a-days there is a constant foreign and internal demand for village products.

In other subjects dealt with by the Plan, all the benefits accruing from Community Projects and from other agricultural and industrial schemes where women work shoulder to shoulder with men, will be shared equally by all. In the new life envisaged by India's Five Year Plan, Indian women will not only play their part but gain the honour that is their due.

Trade Unionism in Pakistan

PAKISTAN FACED abnormal difficulties on its inauguration as an independent sovereign state on 14th August, 1947, but opportunities for progress in many fields were obviously exceptional.

Free of many prejudices encumbering older states, Pakistan was determined from the beginning to apply in its co-operative life the fundamentally humane and democratic principles of Islam. This determination was set out in the "Objectives Resolution" adopted by the Constituent Assembly as the basis for the Constitution. This Resolution guaranteed "fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity, and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, and association, subject to law and public morality."

Many steps have already been taken in the field of labour legislation to carry out these principles. However, progress in labour welfare can be properly appreciated only against the background of local conditions.

In most Asian countries the important fact to be kept in mind is that poverty exists on a scale that has to be seen to be fully understood. The standard of living of the masses is incomparably lower than in most western countries; and the establishment of good conditions throughout the whole of industry requires proportionately greater effort. In the case of Pakistan an unprecedented problem was created by the tragic influx of millions of refugees after the partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. This problem was so great that much of the attention of the Government was occupied in improving the means of livelihood of these destitute people.

It is also necessary to keep in mind the fact that Pre-Partition India was not a very heavily industrialized country, and the areas which now constitute Pakistan were less developed than the remainder. Pakistan's share in the factories of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent at the time of partition was only about 9.6 per cent, and organized industry as a whole occupied only about 8 per cent of the population. Industries, therefore, had to be set up with the utmost speed to achieve a more balanced economy. However, opportunities to improve conditions in industry were unique. The fact that Pakistan had to start, as it were, from scratch, meant that vested interests were not entrenched to anything like the degree in most other countries, and a fair deal thus for the working class was not only desirable but practicable.

Pakistan inherited a Labour Code covering a wide field of protective legislation. Hours of work, rest periods, holidays, prompt payment of wages, industrial safety and hygiene, and the restrictions on the employment of juveniles and women in certain industries, are governed by the Factories Act, Mines Act, Employment of Children Act, Hours of Employment Regulations, Payment of Wages Act, and the Workmens Compensation Act. The rights and obligations of Trade Unions are set out in the Trade Unions Act, and industrial relations are controlled by the Industrial Disputes Act. These and similar Acts concerning labour incorporated a number of provisions of certain international conventions which were ratified by the pre-partition India and were accepted by the Pakistan Government as binding upon the country after partition.

Pakistan did not start with any grave labour problems. The circumstances in which the Labour Code was drafted have changed since partition, and it has since been found necessary to reconsider every proposal carefully in order to make it suit the peculiar problems of the country which now stands on the threshold of industrialism. I.L.O. experts have been invited to look into the problems of the country and have naturally to be given time for a thorough investigation before making any recommendations. Some legislative measures have, therefore, been kept in abeyance; and in some cases comments from Provincial Governments and organizations of employers and workers on fresh measures for legislation are awaited. Again measures, like amendments to the Trade Unions Act and the Industrial Disputes Act, have given rise to some controversial points which have to be reconciled before any Bill is brought before legislature. Meanwhile, every item included in the Five Year Programme adopted at the first meeting of the Pakistan Tripartite Labour Conference has been under active consideration of the Ministry of Labour. Nevertheless, a survey of the field of labour to suggest legislative and administrative measures for ensuring better working and living conditions of the Pakistani worker was the outstanding feature of the activities of the Ministry of Labour during 1952-53. Notable items were the implementation of a "training within industry" programme for business and industry, and the organization of a training course in labour administration and industrial welfare. Among the international labour conventions ratified by Pakistan is Convention No. 87, which deals with Freedom of Association and protection of the Right to Organize. This is a land-mark in labour history because it is the first time that one of the fundamental freedoms is dealt with in an I.L.O. Convention.

Encouragement of healthy Trade Unionism is one of the aims of the Government. There are 358 Trade Unions registered under the Trade Unions Act of 1926 in Pakistan with a total membership of 408,058.

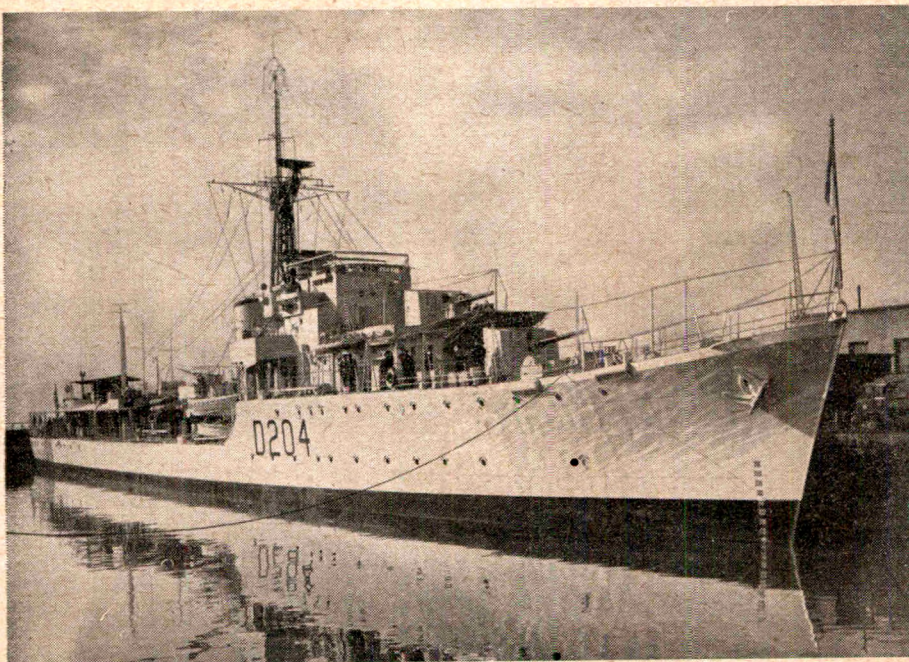
There is also a large number of workers in such trade unions who are not registered under the Act.

Freedom for the Trade Unions is implicit in the Trade Unions Act of 1926 and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. The Trade Unions in Pakistan have an independent existence and have kept away from political parties. In some cases, however, Trade Union leaders are members or leaders of political parties: but only in their independent capacity.

Pakistan has also ratified the Right of Association (Agriculture) International Labour Organization Convention No. 11, according to which all those engaged in agriculture have the same rights of association and compensation as the industrial workers. Trade Unions are largely confined to industrial labour at present, although some Unions of Agricultural Workers also exist. These Unions are free to affiliate themselves with any international organization. The most representative organization of workers, the All-Pakistan Federation of Labour, is affiliated to the International Federation of Free Trade Unions; and only one independent organization, the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Lahore, is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. The relationship between the Trade Unions in Pakistan and those in other Asian countries is not very close at present. However, due to the regional activities of the I.C.F.T.U., the Pakistani Unions are coming more and more into contact with members of the I.C.F.T.U. from other Asian countries.

No country with an economy so heavily agrarian as Pakistan's can hope to raise the living standards of its people unless a pronounced swing is made towards industrialization. It is therefore the intention of Pakistan to switch gradually to a semi-industrialized economy. Pakistan is embarking boldly on a policy of industrialization which while relieving pressure on land and raising the standard of living of its people, will not disturb the basic nature of its agricultural economy.

With harmonious relationship between agriculture and industry, and with progressive development in both these fields, Pakistan should be able to give its people better living conditions and greater amenities for leading a richer and fuller life.



ABOVE: THE PORT OF CHITTAGONG.

BELOW: A PAKISTANI DESTROYER

Agricultural Development in East Bengal

THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY of the creation of Pakistan was commemorated in London by a largely-attended meeting at which the High Commissioner, H.E. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani spoke of recent events in Pakistan, and asked all nationals to re-dedicate themselves to the service of their country.

A few days earlier, Mr. Mohamed Ali, the Prime Minister, had introduced the helpful innovation of a fireside chat on the Roosevelt model. He was able to report substantial improvement in the agricultural and food situation, which had suffered much from inadequate rainfall and other causes; and expressed gratitude to Canada and Australia, and to America, for the wheat supplied, and to the United Kingdom for a loan of £10 million for the development of the agricultural industry.

The fact that manufacturing progress in Pakistan is dependent mainly upon agriculture—the greatest of her industries—has been shown in a number of decisions which have been taken also by the Government of East Bengal, the most populous part of the Dominion. It was notified on Independence Day that the Dacca Government had taken various measures to bring home to the agriculturist the necessity of using modern implements and scientifically produced manures, and also introduced improved seeds which give bigger yields.

The approach was made through the 822 union agricultural firms. (there are two such firms in each thana) and 411 agricultural stores, of which there is one in each thana. Trained union agricultural assistants are attached to these and their expert advice is readily available to the cultivators of the villages. The cultivators who approach these officers can get not only expert advice, but also improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and manures, and agricultural implements. As a result of these measures the yield has gone up in certain areas to 45 maunds* of jute and 36 maunds of aman paddy per acre, as against the provincial average of 16·2 and 18·6 maunds per acre respectively.

MANURE SCHEDULE FOR MAJOR CROPS

Research on various aspects of agriculture was continued by the Government departments in the fields of Agricultural Chemistry, Mycology, Entomology, Economic Botany (cereals), Economic Botany (fibre), and Agricultural Engineering. The Agricultural Chemistry department has prepared a manure schedule for all the major crops of

*28 maunds=1 ton.

the province. Moreover, this department, both by laboratory and field experiments, has discovered ways of reclaiming the "kosh" affected soils which cover more than 8,000 acres in the coastal areas of the Chittagong District. The department also carried out silt catchment experiments at Habiganj Firm (Sylhet), and completed the soil survey of the Dacca and Mymensingh Districts during the year.

The Mycologist department discovered effective ways to control "die back" diseases of chilli and "potato blight." The possibility of selective weed control in growing aus paddy has been investigated, and results are quite encouraging.

The Entomological department has during the year made a general survey of insect pests of major crops and has developed effective insecticides which are being successfully utilized against rice hispa, potato tuber worm, hairy caterpillars, and other crop diseases. Recent laboratory experiments have shown that it may be possible to control the stem-borer of paddy. This is a valuable finding, as the stem-borer could not so far be effectively controlled with ordinary stomach and contact poison.

JAPANESE AND EGYPTIAN PADDY

Experiments have been made with Japanese and Egyptian varieties of paddy seeds which are widely known to give yields three to four times more than the various kinds of East Bengal paddy. The Japanese and Egyptian varieties can be successfully grown in East Bengal during the spring season.

The Engineering department has manufactured several types of improved plough; iron "done" for irrigation, Persian wheel, furnaces for "gur" boiling, and gur boiling pans.

The Provincial Agricultural Directorate has 97 tractors of which 38 were hired by cultivators. The Directorate has 140 power pumps which are also available for hire. Well over 2,000 acres of waste-land were brought under cultivation with the help of tractors and power pumps during the year.

Education and training of agriculturists was expanded during the year. Education in the secondary stage is given through the Secondary Agricultural School at Dacca, while the Graduate course of Agricultural Education is conducted by the East Bengal Agricultural Institute of the Dacca University. In addition, 150 members of the Jute Regulation Staff at Daulatpur and 200 at Gaibandha are being trained in agriculture each year. Agricultural education is also available through H.E. and M.E. Schools and High and Junior Madarsas. As many as 2,300 students attended the agricultural course in 23 such institutions throughout the province during the year under review.

Gueeyin-Chinese: Chinese in Roman Letters

By Dr. C. C. WANG

The movement for phoneticizing the Chinese language by the Chinese did not begin until the end of the 19th Century, when the well-known scholar Waang-Jaw introduced a system of phonetic signs for writing Chinese. Despite the opposition of the Manchu Dynasty, this movement soon began to grow by leaps and bounds. As a high school student, the writer well recalls being deeply impressed by Waang-Jaw's explanation of his system. Soon after the Revolution of 1911 the national phonetic alphabet was officially adopted. This system of phonetic letters is made up of thirty-nine simplified Chinese characters, or rather fragments of characters, as phonetic signs for representing the thirty-nine elementary sounds of the Chinese language.¹ It has been taught in elementary schools. Dictionaries are compiled with these phonetic letters printed by the side of each character to indicate its pronunciation. Readers and text books are published in which these phonetic letters are used to indicate the pronunciations of the new words in the vocabulary. Much good has been done in this way, because the children have been helped to read correctly and uniformly throughout the country—a thing unheard of in China before.

A great drawback in this system is that the thirty-nine phonetic letters or signs are rather unwieldy and cumbersome. Moreover, on account of certain characteristics of the Chinese language, these phonetic letters can be used only to indicate the pronunciations of the characters and not to replace them. Therefore, the adoption of the phonetic letters constitutes only the elementary stage of the reform. It has now to overthrow the whole written Chinese language by relegating the Chinese characters gradually to their proper places in the shelves of research and replacing them in the field of modern life with a phonetic language written in the Roman alphabet, which is universally recognized as the best of all alphabets.

Another way of writing Chinese which will give most of the benefits of "phonetization" and at the same time preserve the essential features of written Chinese is to use the Gueeyin radicals with simplified phonetic parts of the characters. The illustrations in Example I, showing the different characters with the phonetics or sounds of "Jung Shan," the complimentary name of Sun Yatsen founder of the Chinese Republic, clarify matters.

¹The number of phonetic letters has been reduced to thirty-seven.

EXAMPLE I

(Small letters are tonal and radical signs)

中	JUNG	Centre	山	SHAN	Hill
鐘	JUNGcg	Bell	姍	SHANcn	Good looking
盅	JUNGem	Cup	刪	SHAND	To pare, to cut
忠	JUNGh	Loyal	煽	SHANf	To agitate
衷	JUNGhh	Heart	煽	SHANI	To fan
公	JUNGn	Husband's brother	杉	SHANm	Fir tree
終	JUNGs	End	羶	SHANog	Goatish
蚤	JUNGw	A grasshopper	衫	SHANs	Garment
鐘	JUNGcg	Bell	笈	SHANT	To mow grass

Three systems of romanization have been officially approved. The Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Romanization, invented by Dr. Y. R. Chao, one of the most scholarly authorities on the subject, was adopted by the Ministry of Education in 1921. This system is a decided improvement over Wade for general writing purposes in that it reproduces the tones by altering the spelling of the finals of the characters, thereby eliminating the use of Wade's Arabic numerals.¹ Its chief drawback, however, is that its rules of spelling are too complicated. Moreover, it also failed to reproduce the radical, thus leaving the thousands of homonyms indistinguishable one from another.

Next in time is the Gueeyin Diannbaw or Phonetic Telegraph system which was adopted by the Ministry of Communications in 1928. In order to enable the public to transmit Chinese characters by telegraph, thereby to save time and to enjoy the benefit of reduced-rate telegrams, the Ministry of Communications in February, 1928, created a commission of expert telegraphists and men versed in phonetics, sinological and philological studies, as well as men versed in the English, French, German, Japanese and Russian languages, with the duty of studying and solving the problem of putting the written Chinese language on a phonetic basis. Since a number of the members of the Commission had devoted themselves for a lifetime to this question, the work was done speedily. After comparing notes and going over the question thoroughly, the commission finally overcame all the hitherto insurmountable difficulties. A new system was evolved where by all Chinese characters may be phonetized and, at the same time, different words of the same sound and the same tone may be distinguished. This system was duly approved and

¹Each romanized word consists of one initial and one final or one final only. Example: J is the initial and ang the final of Jang; W is the initial and aang the final of Waang; L the initial and i the final of Li, etc., and Ay, En, Ou, etc. are words made of finals only.

promulgated by the Ministry of Communications, and a telegraph dictionary containing all the words of the public code was published.

By trial it was found that beginners with only a few weeks training can translate an ordinary telegram into the phonetic language with about one-half as much time as it would require to translate the same message into the public code. Moreover, the addressee, with the help of the context, the radical and tone-signs and the polysyllabic words can read the message straight off with little reference to the dictionary. Continued efforts have been made to improve the phonetic telegraph system, which by the nature of things had many defects. As a result, the Gueeyinzyx or Gueeyin-Chinese has been evolved.²

This system, in the first place, adopts the Mandarin, or national pronunciation as the basis. Thus, all the dialects were ruled out. The national phonetic and the Wade systems of spelling are closely followed. In a general way, it applies the twenty-six Roman letters as they are used in English and German, to the representation of the thirty-seven primary sounds in the Peiping vocabulary. Each of the five vowels has its definite sound. The sounds of the consonants are similar to those of the English consonants, except that in Chinese there are not any c, q, v, x, th sounds.

The second feature is the proper representation of the tone. The tonal-finals of the Gwoyeu Romatzyh are closely followed with certain simplifications. The letters c, q, v, x, which are not used independently for reproducing the sounds of any words, are selected as tonal-signs to mark the first, second, third and fourth tones respectively, by affixing it to the end of each word wherever clarity requires. Thus, all words or syllables with c appearing at the end are of the first tone, all words with q appearing after their sounds are of the second tone, and so on. Take the vocable or word yi, for instance, yic at once is known to be yi of the first tone, yiq of the second tone, yiv of the third tone and yix of the fourth tone.

The third and most important feature is the phonetic representation of the radical. As we have seen, all Chinese characters bear one of the 214 radicals, so as to show their general nature or meaning and to establish their identities. For simplicity, the 214 radicals are reduced to 41 by the elimination of a large number of the unimportant and less effective. Each of the seventeen most important radicals is represented by the initial letter of the sound of the radical, and the remaining twenty-four less important radicals are represented by the combination of two letters as shown in the "Table of Radicals and Radical Signs." Since Chinese characters never end with a vowel except n, ng and r, there is no fear of any radical-signs being mistaken for a vowel.

A few simple and definite rules are adopted, according to which the tone of each word is indicated with the proper initial and the proper

²A Gueeyin-Chinese and English Dictionary is compiled according to this system of romanization.

tonal-final or with one of the tonal-signs c, q, v, x as clarity may require. After the phonetic, the radical-sign is affixed. By this method, the complete word, with its three component parts of sound, tone and radical, is reproduced just as it is reproduced in the original Chinese script, except that the latter is done with the hieroglyphic strokes and the former in Roman letters.

The fourth feature of the system is the adoption of compound words. This is simply a natural forward step in the modernization of the language. Western languages such as English, French and German, have gradually "compressed" compound words into single words. Sunday, overcome, nevertheless, for instance, in English, and contrebande, contrefacon, survenir in French are all made up of two or more separate words. In the German language, the grouping of separate words into compound words is characteristic. Reichspostminister, Gartenbauausstellungsdirektion, Ehrerbietungsbezeugung, etc. are by no means exceptions. The tendency to group separate words into single words is going on all the time in all modern languages. The same process has been taking place in Chinese thought and expression, although it has not been shown in the formation of the words. Consider, for example, the following: TIAN TAANG, heaven, which literally means celestial hall; NEY REEN, wife, which means inside person; YUEX MU V, mother-in-law, which literally may mean mountainous female; TAY TAY, Mrs., which actually means grandmother; HUEV CHETOO, locomotive, which means fire-wagon-head; SHENG JIANG GTI, elevator, which means up-and-down-ladder. Each represents only one definite, single expression, although it may contain two or more characters—all complimentary in the oriental sense. This process of compounding words is becoming more and more necessary with the introduction of modern education and modern thought. By examining a number of letters written in the modern, semi-colloquial style, the writer found that on the average more than two-thirds of the characters should be compounded into polysyllabic words. This feature will eventually make written Chinese polysyllabic, as it should be.

An alternative way of writing Gueeyinzix is to write the phonetic of each Chinese character or compound-word by using the Chinese National phonetic alphabet instead of the roman letters and to affix the radical instead of the radical-sign, as shown in example III (4) of Gueeyinzix appearing at the end of this paper.

The latest of the three principal systems is the Sin Wenz (new writing) which was developed in Russia and sponsored by the Communist regime in Yenan during the Japanese invasion. A few booklets have been printed in Sin Wenz which show that the Russian way of using the letters for producing the syllables is predominant. There is also the possibility

EXAMPLE II

部 首 歌 Table of Radicals and Radical-signs

R	Nature	P	RS	R	Nature	P	RS
人	Man, human	reen	r	日	Sun, time	Ryx	j
丿	Head, direction, space	too	ot	王*	Moral, philosophical, positive, scientific	Waang	el
刀	Sword, kill, military	dao	d	犬	Dog, animals	go	og
力	Strength, exertion	lix	il	皮	Skin, hide, hair	pil	ip
卜	Divination, supernatural	buv	ub	疒	Sickness, medical	nix	b
宀	Roof, shelter, hollow	miaan	im	皿	Utensils, implements	minv	im
山	Hill, mountain	shan	as	目	Eyes, color, nose, odor	mux	um
口	Mouth, teeth, tongue, speech	kou	k	石	Stone, jewels, solid	shyy	et
女	Woman, female	ninv	n	舟	Boat, vehicles	jo	oj
土	Earth, land, field	tuv	ut	臣*	Political	cheen	op
止	Stop, hindrance	jyv	yj	糸	Silk, clothes, textiles	sy	s
歹	Evil, decline, negative	dai	id	虫	Worms, insects	chuung	w
斗	Quantity, measure	dou	od	耳	Ear, hear, sound	erv	ul
手	Hand, to handle	shou	l	足	Feet, walk	zuu	uz
心	Heart, mind, psychological	sin	h	身	Body, flesh, bone	shen	ob
水	Water, fluid	shueu	p	貝	Valuable, economics	bey	eb
火	Fire, heat	huev	f	雨	Rain, weather	yuv	uy
木	Wood, large plants	mux	m	食	Food	shyy	ys
艸	Grass, small plants	tsau	t	金	Gold, metal, mineral	jin	g
文	Literary, educational	ween	y	鳥	Bird, fish	niau	on
Notes: (1) R=radicals, P=pronunciation, RS=radical-signs (2) RS are formed mostly by the initial letters or the reversed approximate spellings of radicals				雜	Miscellaneous	zaa	z
				部	Radical	bux	
				難	Hard	naan	
				字	Characters	zyx	
				找	To find	jau	
Examples: 人 =r(een) 丿 =ot=" to " reversed 刀 =d(ao) 卜 =ub=" bu " reversed 金 =g(old), etc. (3) c, q, v, x are tonal signs and are always silent.							

* The author is indebted to Prof. H. H. Dubs for the enlarged use of these two radicals.

EXAMPLE III

1. THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father who are in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory for ever. AMEN.

2. 主禱文

我們在天上的父願人都遵父的名爲聖。願父的國降臨。願父的旨意行在地上，如同行在天上。我們日用的飲食，今日賜給我們。免我們的債，如同我們免人的債。不叫我們遇見試探。救我們脫離兇惡。因爲國度權柄榮耀全是父的。阿門。

3. JUVDAUWEEN.

Wevmeen zay tianshanggdi fux. Yuannot reen duzun fuxdi miing weii shenggel. Yuann fuxdi guee jianggliin. Yuannot fuxdi jvyix siingzay dixshangg, ruutuung siingzay tianshangg. Wevmeen ryxyunggdi yinvshyy, jinryx tsyxgeu wevmeen. Mianv wevmeendi jayxeb, ruutuung wevmeen mianv reendi jayxeb. Bujiaw wevmeen yuxjiann shyxtann. Jiowl wevmeen tuelii siungex. Yinweii gueedux, chiuaanbingg, ruungyuex chiuaanshyx fuxdi. AMEN.

4. $\psi \times \psi \rightarrow \psi \times \psi$

[illegible]

in this system to adopt the Cyrillic alphabet. Since so little information on the subject has filtered through the bamboo curtain, it is difficult to pass any judgment on this system. The fact that it ignores both the tone and the radical leads one rather to be sceptical of its usefulness. Moreover, if it ultimately adopts the Cyrillic alphabet, then the Russian influence, which already predominates, may become supreme in China's future written word unless the red regime is liquidated in time.

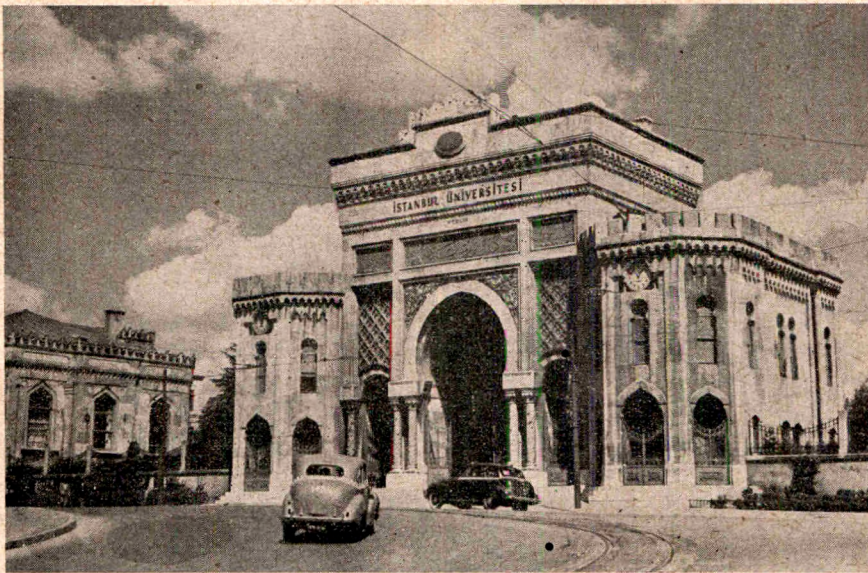
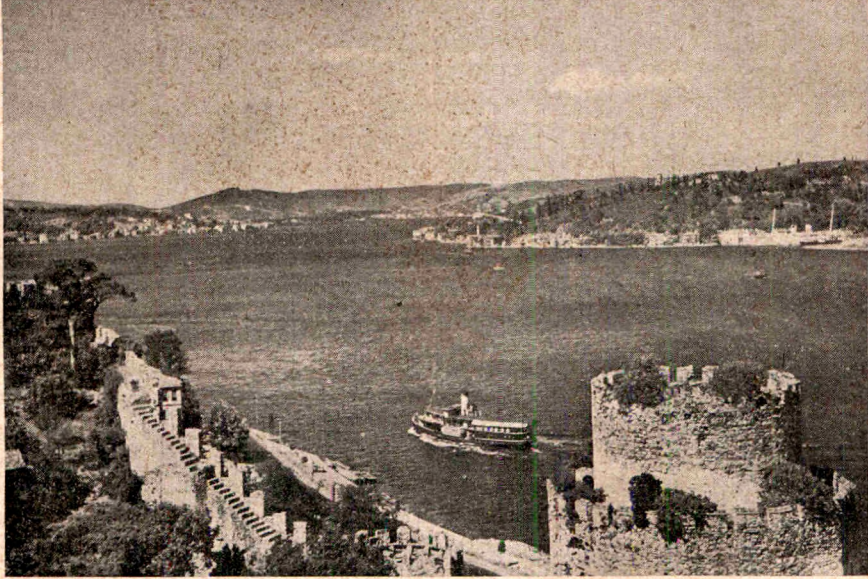
This discussion leads us to conclude that all systems of romanization in China are still in the experimental stage. A language with four thousand years back of it cannot be completely changed overnight. Indeed, the new systems only open the way and point out the directions in which phonetic Chinese may be developed. Much work is yet ahead. The 214 radicals, now reduced to 41, should be further reduced within the limits of clarity. Each one of the radicals of the ten thousand odd characters in common use should be thoroughly examined with the view of selecting for each character the radical that will be easy to recognize and most effective in indicating its nature and idea.

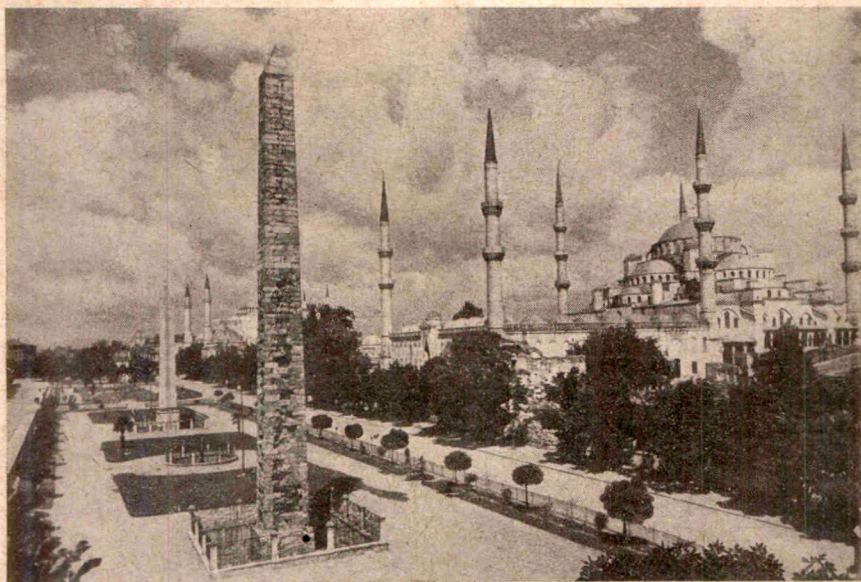
The significance of the movement, which is only one phase of the Chinese renaissance, involves the fundamental change of the entire written language with all its influence upon the mind and life of the Chinese people. As the new style of writing progresses, it will not only make the written Chinese language easier to learn and less unwieldy to use, but will make China itself better understood.

China's history and art as well as its thought and philosophy will receive a new impetus for development and diffusion. The treasures in the volumes of its four thousand years may be made more accessible to the world, and at last the insurmountable language barrier may be scaled so that the East and the West may be brought closer together than ever before.

Five Hundred Years of Turkish Rule

This year Turkey is commemorating the 500th anniversary of the capture of Constantinople. It was in 1453 that Mohammed II carried the city against the resolute resistance of Constantine Palæologus and Giustiniani.





LEFT: THE BOSPHORUS. ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL AND STRATEGIC WATERWAYS IN THE WORLD.
ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY. ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.

ABOVE: SULEYMANIYE MOSQUE. A MIRACLE OF TURCO-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. COMPLETED IN 1557.
SULTAN AHMET MOSQUE. AN EXAMPLE OF 17TH CENTURY TURKISH ARCHITECTURE.

Israel—A survey

By ISAIAH BERLIN*

I SHOULD like to begin with the strange fact that the State of Israel exists. It was once said by the celebrated Russian revolutionary, Herzen, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, that the Slavs had no history, only geography. The position of the Jews is the reverse of this. They have enjoyed rather too much history and too little geography. And the foundation of the State of Israel must be regarded as a piece of historical redress for this anomalous situation. The Jews have certainly been overladen with history, or, as some might say, martyrology. Certainly no community has ever been so self-conscious of itself, its past fate, its future, and the apparently insoluble character of the problems which beset it. Where were the Jews going? What would happen to them, or should be done about them? Almost every Jew has early or late in his life encountered something called the Jewish problem. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Belgians, Chinese, Portuguese are not beset at the beginning of their conscious lives by something called the Belgian, Chinese or Portuguese problem. This consciousness of themselves as peculiarly problematical made the creation of the State of Israel a miracle; for if it had been made dependent on the solution of the Jewish problem by the specialists on the subject, if the Jews had been what either some of their friends or some among their enemies declared them to be, there might well have been no State of Israel at all.

Perpetual discussions went on, particularly during the nineteenth century—the most historically conscious of all ages—whether the Jews were a race, or solely a religion; a people, a community, or an economic category. Books, pamphlets, debates increased in volume if not in quality. But there was one inevitable fact about this problem, which was in some respects more clearly perceived by gentiles than by the Jews themselves: namely, if they were merely a religion, this would surely not have needed arguing with quite so much insistence; while if they were nothing but a race, it would not have been denied quite as vehemently as it was.

It gradually became clear both to Jews and to those who took an interest in their affairs that they occupied an anomalous situation, and could not be defined in terms of the ordinary definitions of nation, as applied at any rate to European nations; and that any attempt to classify them in such terms would lead to unnatural, artificial, and Procrustean consequences.

*Lecture delivered before the Anglo-Israel Association.

One does not need to be old to remember a time when the Jews of the West used to grow indignant when other Jews, mainly from Eastern Europe, declared themselves to be members of a nation, and demanded a land in which to lead a national life. And some Western Jews did feel sufficiently assimilated to the natives of the country in which they lived to receive this kind of proposition with much amazement and much honest indignation. It is said that the late Edwin Montagu described the original draft of the Balfour Declaration as bordering on an act of anti-Semitism. No doubt he was sincere but the fact that he was sincere and honest was, in this case, an illuminating sign of his own and his friends' state of mind. Sincerity and honesty are not always guarantees of objective truth. Despite passionate denials of this proposition from many sides, it became increasingly clear to almost every one who approached the problem from outside that the Jews were indeed a most anomalous entity; that they were a unique combination of religion, race and people; that they could not be classified in normal terms, but demanded an extraordinary description, and their problem an extraordinary solution. The person who saw the problem in the simpler terms and provided the most radical solution was Theodor Herzl.

The distinguishing characteristic of Dr. Herzl was that, despite his origin and milieu, he came to the problem, as it were, from the outside, and possessed a somewhat romantic conception of the Jews, scarcely recognizable to those who themselves grew up in the thick of a closely-knit traditional Jewish Community. There is something about such major radical solutions which seems to make it necessary for them to be born in the minds of those who in some sense stand on the rim, and look in from outside, and have an over-simple ideal, an over-simple purpose, a very lucid, usually very violent, very clear vision, based on an indispensable ignorance of detail. People who know too much—know too many detailed facts too closely—cannot produce radical solutions. The Jews who grew up inside truly traditional Jewish communities such as those of Eastern and Central Europe were, as a rule, much too conscious of the difficulties and complications, and lived cooped up much too closely to each other, ever to conceive anything so bold, so simple, so radical and in a sense so fantastic as Herzl's original idea.

I shall not before this learned audience traverse familiar ground of how, as a result of the Dreyfus case, he became aware of the whole anomaly of the Jewish situation. But it presently became obsessively clear to him that the moral and social situation of the Jews was intolerable: that it was painfully and tragically abnormal; that the palliatives had all failed; that the only alternative to apathy or humiliation was a drastic

cure. As my friend the Ambassador of Israel has told me, Herzl's original solution, was to cause all the Jews to be baptized. That was at any rate radical, simple, bold and general, and would surely put an end for ever to all the embarrassment of ambiguous status of the Jews, their three-quarter citizenships, the peculiarity of their relationships in the various enclaves which they formed within the various communities to which they half believed, and half did not believe, themselves to belong.

It soon became quite clear to him, of course, that this was a genuinely Utopian solution, and he abandoned it. The notion of creating a territorial state for his people was in its own way an idea just as bold and ruthless and simple. It was regarded as absurd by most of them, if only because it possessed a terrible, Napoleonic simplicity of vision. There is perhaps something which statesmen of this type have in common, a certain type of vision possessed by Napoleon and Burke, perhaps by Mr. de Valera, possibly by Disraeli, and I fear Hitler and Stalin too, which comes of standing apart, at a certain distance, from the people whose destinies they are engaged in moulding, and therefore leading to a sense of perspective and the emergence of clear and simple patterns, in contrast to the vision of those who see from within, and as often as not, simply perceive a patternless heap of minute, unending complications, and see every possible path as blocked by a vast number of obstacles which cannot be overcome in their time. Outsiders romanticize and oversimplify more easily: familiarity breeds if not contempt, then at any rate scepticism and corrosive defeatism.

From this Herzl who, though he came from Budapest, was not an Eastern European, was free, perhaps too free. His ideas were nationalist, secular, romantic, liberal, and bore more affinity to the enlightenment of Vienna and Paris than to anything specifically Jewish. And this, *mutatis mutandis*, was true of his followers. Each reflected the leading tendencies of his environment, each conceived the Zionist ideal in terms which, to some degree, derived from the national attitudes of his non-Jewish neighbours. The British Jews came with British ideas, the French Jews with French ideas, the German Jews with German ideas, the Russian Jews with Russian ideas, and the American Jews with American ideas. What happened as a result of this confusion of the tongues? The ideas came into collision with each other. One of the few things one can say, in spite of all the doctrines we hear about inexorable laws of history (which come with almost equally monotonous frequency from the Soviet Union and Chatham House), is that large revolutions, attempts to upheave existing society and alter the course of events, do as a rule produce a break and change things deeply, but seldom in the direction which their initiators anticipated or desired. Why this is I do not propose to discuss.

—this must not become a lecture on the philosophy of history. It is enough to note that the State of Israel emerged with attributes quite different from those which any one had previously intended. The intentions and purposes and motives had been many: and differed at times from individual to individual. Nevertheless, certain common national and cultural “patterns” are discernible among them; and the influence of each is still identifiable in Israel to-day. Thus the small group of English Jews, who accepted Herzl’s ideas, were to some degree affected by the liberal imperialism of their surroundings. What some among them wanted was a spiritual centre, a source of spiritual light, in a rather nebulous, idealistic sense. Others were more political. What they wanted was a Jewish community which would constitute a western outpost in the east, a body of missionaries of western culture, with peculiar duties and responsibilities towards the undeveloped communities of the east, both Jews and Arabs. This was, however unconsciously, a kind of Jewish version of something very British—of the most idealistic liberal conception of the White Man’s Burden. The English Jews of whom I speak conceived of the Jewish establishment in Palestine as essentially a civilizing mission composed of idealistic personalities, who would bring the maturest fruit of the most peace-loving and most humane culture of the west to these inchoate, rather wild, rather barbarous eastern peoples.

The French Jews were on the whole less interested in Palestine; but there were exceptions; and the most notable among them, the great Baron Edmond de Rothschild. His villages—the colonies which he founded—represent a French ideal with pretty French vines and olive trees, elegant, charming and self-contained, an expression of peaceful, rural, slightly idealized, 19th century view of the life: of tenant farmers and their labourers; of Jewish farmers on the hill and Arab labourers below, and the great landlord who owned the land, remote, mysterious, and benevolent, far away beyond the sea.

The German Jews wanted an orderly, modern, spick-and-span world with a sufficiency of applied economic and technological knowledge, and a certain degree of democracy, but on the whole a well-disciplined, tidy, competent, late 19th century—I won’t say Prussian—but at any rate properly regulated and firmly founded political and economic organization.

The American Jews wanted something perhaps a little more streamlined and yet sentimentally affecting. They wanted something embodying a great deal of passionate and romantic popular enthusiasm, and with it the newest most up-to-date, most labour-saving, mechanically fertile, twentieth century gadgets and improvements imaginable anywhere. They wanted Palestine to lead in the van of all spiritual, artistic, material

progress, tangibly, palpably, for all to see and admire. And they wanted it at the same time to be the idealized home country, at once biblical and sweetly familiar, by which they could be identified in America among the great groups of immigrants of which that country is composed.

But by far the most important community to be considered is the community which was most closely concerned with the early foundations of the Israeli community: that is to say, the Jews of Russia and Poland. Both numerically and in influence they outweighed the western Jews. It seems almost self-evident that if there had existed only the Jews of the western world, or, perhaps, the Jews of the west and the Jews of the eastern, Muslim, countries, there would have been no Israel. Whatever the genuine problems besetting the Jews of the west, however true and sharp and refreshing Dr. Herzl's extremely ruthless analysis of the diseases might have been, there were in the beginning of our century no sufficiently compelling causes which could uproot the relatively comfortable and well set-up Jews of the west, materially provided for, and morally and politically unpersecuted, into a general trek in that particular direction. But for the character and needs of the Eastern European Jews there would have been no Israel. They are, in that sense, absolutely *sine quibus non*; their role is indispensable to the understanding of what happened later.

For this reason I should like to say a few words about their establishment. The eastern Jews, as a result of historical circumstances, possessed a kind of independent establishment of their own. They had grown to be much more a state within a state, with its own political, social, religious and human ideals than any other community of Jews anywhere. I should not like to generalize about the eastern countries; for about them I fear that I know nothing. The Jews of Russia and Poland, as a result of political and social persecution, had found themselves cooped up in a kind of extended ghetto, called the Pale of Settlement, and although, or perhaps because, they were not well treated by the Russian government and bureaucracy, particularly towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, they remained within their medieval shell and developed a kind of internal structure of their own. They possessed a very powerful inner life and, in a certain sense, remained less touched by modern developments than almost any community of Jews in Europe. If one finds difficulty in conceiving what life was like in the Middle Ages in Europe, I think that the life of a truly religious Jewish settlement in Western Russia, even as late as 1890 or 1900, probably bears a closer analogy to it than any other community anywhere. They were affected somewhat by, but on the whole comparatively preserved from, the intrusion of outside forces. They lived their own rich, and despite economic

misery and social ostracism, often gay, imaginative and morally satisfying lives. They were surrounded by Russian peasants, against whom they felt no hatred, but whom they regarded as a species of lower beings with whom their contacts were confined. They lived inside the walls of their own community, leading a closely-knit, medieval, tight-woven form of existence, and they developed their own inner institutions. There was a great deal of persecution and pressure by the Russian Government outside; but if you were inside this establishment, you felt morally and spiritually secure; it was a home, and built on solid foundations.

These were the people who to some extent transferred their own institutional basis to the new country, and that is what gave Jewish Palestine its profound continuity with the immediate Jewish past. You might well ask, how can a state be constructed artificially? Is it really feasible to put up a pre-fabricated society? Even if one does not fully accept the traditionalist views of Burke and his brand of conservatives, one is liable to be told that states cannot be made, they must grow; that there is such a process as the insensible growth of a civilization by small, scarcely measurable steps; there are imponderables, there is the crucial influence of a myriad untraceable small causes, leading to vast, but individually invisible, unanalysable effects. One cannot, one is informed create a state in the way in which one makes a machine or the way one creates any artificial object. There must be roots, growth, soil. There must be an imperceptible traditional accumulation, a sort of precipitate of tradition throughout the ages. And yet the impossible has apparently occurred; we witness the rise of a state which in a few years' existence has been created by, to all appearances, pre-fabricated means: bits of Italy, bits of England, of Germany, bits and pieces from everywhere, quickly screwed together. And yet, like Aaron's rod, this apparently dead entity, this artificial wooden object, hammered together, in a haphazard manner under critical conditions and in terrible haste, has suddenly burst into green leaf.

This is a very astonishing fact. It is less astonishing only if one realizes that my community lived by a set of portable values, a tradition on wheels which, like the Ark of the Covenant, travelled from Jerusalem back into the wilderness of exile across central Europe to Russia and Russian Poland. There it halted, a kind of temporary establishment; a tradition with no roots in specifically Russian or Polish soil, for its roots were not territorial or geographical. It was a very genuine institutional unity, a real pattern of life, a way of living unrelated to almost any other. The Jews of England, Holland, Germany, America, could not claim and would not wish, perhaps, to possess anything like it; their histories had been different: happier, and, it may be, less interesting.

What kind of institutions were these? They were compounded of at least two elements. On the one hand there was the Jewish religion and the traditional religious Jewish way of living, which, with common depression, common misery, and common suffering, developed a deep sense of equality, so that all men, whether rich or poor, men who were relatively influential and men who were not, felt themselves bound together by the particular ties of solidarity and fraternity which common slavery commonly induces. For this reason it was a more tightly woven community, with more intimate relationships within it, than the freer and looser communities outside. On the other hand, the Jews of every country tend to assimilate to some degree to the movements round them. In Russia and Poland they assimilated the humanist-liberal, radical and social democratic traditions of intellectual revolt, which the best elements in those countries developed in response to the harsh and unbelievably stupid form of despotism maintained by the Tzarist regime.

It is not easy for those who have not met it to conceive this queer combination of ancient, pious, medieval religion, with its immense preservative, centripetal power on the one hand, and 19th century Liberal-democratic ideals on the other. The emancipated ex-inhabitants of the Pale of Settlement preserved traditional tastes but acquired new beliefs, the creed of the liberal intelligentsia. They believed in human virtue, in knowledge, in science, in reason; they believed in everything in which the revolutionaries of 1848 had believed. And if you go to Israel to-day, a far better key to understanding the minds of the rulers of that country and the methods they employ would be found in the study of the ideals of the 19th century than of those of the 20th. In a certain sense, Israel is an anachronism: a very valuable, interesting and inspiring anachronism; but still in the twentieth century odd and unique. The ideals which the Jews imported, and the culture they were able to build in the relative vacuum of Palestine—with a minimum of counter-influences on account of the evident feebleness of the Muslim culture in this corner of the Arab world—were founded upon typically 19th century principles: belief in freedom from government dictation; in civil liberties, in human rights, in a form of democracy which in the 20th century have, alas, proved not very reliable against the furious new forces which have been unleashed against it.

Israel is an enclave, a curious corner of the liberal past in which these things were believed with passionate and single minded sincerity; and this is what gives it a curiously unfamiliar air. Any one who wishes to understand the political structure of Israel had better study 19th century history of liberal ideas in Europe, and then the story of these ideas as reflected in the minds of Russian liberals and socialists in the nineteenth

century. The Russian Jews who set their stamp so deeply on the social and political structure of Jewish Palestine under the Mandate—and Israel is faithful enough to that inheritance—were brothers and heirs to the idealistic Russian intellectuals, and to the poor artisans, struggling land labourers, factory workers, whose cause they fought. Any student of political institutions who wishes to understand the State of Israel must remember that its political parties derive from Russian Westernism, Russian liberal enlightenment, the ideas and aspirations which united the entire opposition to Czarist oppression, and were, after their short-lived triumphs so easily and cynically thrown overboard by the Bolsheviks. Russian liberals, without the scars of the disenchantments and failures, the crippling frustrations which democrats and liberals suffered in Europe, remained hopeful; and their Jewish disciples still possess a great deal of hope, optimism, enthusiasm, and a certain inner strength. If you examine, for example, the Mapai and Mapam parties, the labour party and the left radical party which has peculiar sympathies with the Soviet Union, they both resemble the idealistic members of Russian Menshevik or Social-Revolutionary parties, the latter with its agrarian mystique, the former with its peculiar belief in a possible combination of socialization of the basic industries with the preservation of an almost maximum degree of cultural liberty on the part of individuals.

There is a direct link between Russian Social-Revolutionaries and the early Jewish colonists in Palestine, with their Rousseau-like belief in the healing power of contact with the soil, their affinities to the Russian students who wished to "go among the people" in the 70's and 80's of the last century, and were brought up in the purest principles of agrarian liberalism. Both believed in life on the land, contact with the peasants, a healthy existence away from the contaminating sophistication of the great cities, in escape from factors morally destructive for people deformed and maimed by the development of modern society, in which they—in one case intellectuals, in the other Jews—found themselves in an abnormal and unhealthy situation of isolation from, and liability to persecution by, the barbarous majority. Not everything came from Russia, of course. The Irgun, a quasi-fascist party, is not an imitation of anything Russian, but far more like its Polish origins, had something in common with Pilsudski's colonels of the nineteen twenties, with their belief in honour. It is thence that it derives its terrorism, its heroism, its brutality, and a certain kind of romantic, Byronic inhumanity. And if you look to the opposite end of the scale, at the left-wing terrorists of the Stern gang, they are the direct heirs of those small groups of the terrorist section of the Russian Left-Wing Social-Revolutionary party, which believed in individual assassination as a politically necessary

method. Misguided—very deeply so—they may have been; but the roots from which they sprang are these same humanitarian, idealistic, these now no longer existent, obsolete circles of the liberal intelligentsia of Russo-Polish society of the 19th century. To fail to see this is to misinterpret the facts.

The ideals which inspired the early Russian and Polish Zionists who emigrated to Palestine—ideals which are still dominant—came from Russian liberals. They filled the people who arrived earliest, the people who went without compulsion. There is a very great difference between the moral force exercised by those who went with no obvious economic need and no obvious political pressure, and those who went because they were expelled from the countries of their origin by violence. Obviously the moral force of people who go under their own steam, and as an act of deliberate moral choice, is likely to be greater than the moral force of people who, dazed and thrown about by the waves of misfortune which they have neither brought about nor understand, find themselves in a large number of cases landed in this haven of refuge, to which they gradually grew assimilated, but which begins by being perhaps as bewildering to them as any other remote and unfamiliar country might have been. The people who went there voluntarily, the early generations, certainly imported a flavour of liberal enthusiasm and a kind of mild half-socialist faith—(I do not think one can go much further than that)—not very Marxist for all its Marxist phraseology, modified by boundless scepticism, individualism, empiricism—a particular brand which the Jews particularly in Russia and Poland, have derived partly from their own miseries and sufferings, partly from the soft, porous, chaotic, not very well-organized political system in which they were themselves brought up.

In giving this very definite primacy to the Russian settlers and their ideas I may seem guilty of exaggeration. What, it may be asked, of the German element? Where would Israel have been in its most critical hour, at war with the Arab States, and given up by its Western friends, without German skills and capital and talent for organization alike in peace and war? Where indeed? Lost perhaps; defeated and destroyed. And yet, for all the crucial contribution which the German settlers have made—to the arts and sciences, the army and the civilian administration, the judiciary and the manufacture and commerce—to every walk of life and every profession and technique, in spite of all this, the heart of the national life is almost untouched by the values dear to the German Jews. It is they who are expected to adjust themselves to an outlook often alien to theirs.

Very little in Israel to-day can be derived from the views or practices of civilized immigrants from Berlin or Vienna or Frankfurt: much by

going further East. Thus you may ask why, for example, Israel is to-day a kind of welfare state—the kind of state which, by the end of the war, many people wished to see everywhere—a country which was neither Communist; nor moving in a Communist direction—nor yet one in which rampant individualism breeds a great deal of violent social injustice? How has Israel come to embody this ideal? Partly, no doubt, as a result of the pressure of the facts themselves. The country was poor, and its original immigrants came from among the poor; it was founded in an irregular fashion; socialism preceded capitalism; trade unions acquired power before industrialists could possibly have done so—Jews, it might be remarked, do everything in the reverse order. But partly it is due to the beliefs which these early pioneers brought with them. These are scarcely intelligible unless one knows the peculiarly idealistic political climate which included an almost mystical worship of British liberalism, and British parliamentary institutions in which the founding fathers, some of whom must surely still be among those whom, it is reported, a celebrated British officer referred to as criminals from the ghettos of Europe, obtained their education in the countries of their origin.

One of the most remarkable facts which helped to form the new society is the re-creation of the Hebrew language. Much has been alleged against it. It was maintained that the *rechauffage* of a classical tongue used largely for ceremonial purposes, would lead to great artificiality; that the language was outlandish, and would isolate those who used it from the community of civilized peoples; that it was violence done to the “true” language of the Jews, the popular Yiddish language, which was rooted in the life of the people. These arguments have been blown to pieces by events. Hebrew has achieved a remarkable triumph, partly because it was the only common medium which was equally sacred to all the immigrants, partly because it was the ancient, noble and dignified vehicle of an incomparable literature, the associations of which have affected the roots of all European thought and imagination. Because of this it has acted as an educational instrument of unique power. Words, thoughts and behaviour are not easily divorceable elements. All the warmth, all the humour and the raciness, all the wonderful expressiveness of Yiddish, all the laughter and tears of the many centuries of exile embodied in it, cannot compensate for the fact that it is an argot: that, like all things created under degraded conditions of life, it is formless, insufficiently disciplined and strict, over-elastic, whereas Hebrew (like everything else in Israel, but perhaps more than any of the other factors), became an instrument for the increase of human dignity, a means of re-creating a minimum degree of discipline of both emotion and reason.

It is an adaptation of a genuine tradition, of long-desired, long-craved-for forms imposed upon the chaos of bohemian homelessness, and blurred outlines, the cosy makeshifts of vagrant exiles—the obliteration by means of something firm and yet deeply familiar and traditional of the memories of past wounds and past servitudes. Of all the factors at work in creating a democratic and liberal nation in Israel to-day, not even excluding the very non-militaristic army, it is the most penetrating, the most influential, and the most successful; and not, as is often maintained, a mere means of increasing chauvinism and isolationism.

Another of the factors which welded the diverse elements together and overcame those differences, which might otherwise have been too pronounced, was the fact of war, the war with the Arab States. It is a sad and melancholy fact, and discreditable to human nature, that wars produce a certain cohesion, solidarity, a common enthusiasm, which few other phenomena do. I remember being told by a celebrated Israeli statesman that he had been brought up as a Social-Democrat in strict hatred of war, that he regretted the Arab war, had done nothing to bring it about and much to prevent it, and thought it a sad and calamitous thing that it should have happened; but that he could not deny that as a result of this war a tradition had grown up, a basis for the state had come into being. The blood of the martyrs had undoubtedly quickened those seeds of the national spirit which otherwise might have taken much longer to develop. There is no doubt that, as during the Blitz of 1940–41 in England, a bringing together and a violent fusion of very different ideals occurred, which, although the end of the war to some extent dissolved it, nevertheless still continues to be the essential moral basis of the common endeavours of the people of Israel.

Unless one understands that in some sense these citizens of a new state feel that they live in a kind of bivouac, if not in an actual armed camp, at any rate at the crossroads of hostile armies; unless one realizes that they feel themselves in constant danger, if not of extermination, at any rate of attack, and that this brings out certain virtues in human beings, certain forms of altruism, genuine capacity for generosity and toleration which human beings otherwise seldom express, the whole of their progress becomes unintelligible. Certainly in terms of the laws of economics and sociology and many other respected social sciences, they should have collapsed a long time ago.

The result of the impact of so many abnormal forces was the emergence of a new species of human beings. If you ask what the founders of the Zionist movement wanted—they wanted to create Jews each in his own image. The English Jews doubtless wanted to see the best kind of English Jew flourish in Israel. The Russian Jews wanted the best kind of idealistic

liberal Russian Jews to predominate; the Australian Jews hoped for the best-liked Australians, the Iraqi Jews might desire the most admired Iraqi character. None of this was to be, because, although man proposes, the forces of history dispose very differently. There has come into being the embryo of an Israeli nationality, the like of which has not existed for two thousand years. What, you may well ask, are these new human beings like? They are not easy to describe. Their most striking characteristic seems to me to be their dissimilarity from the concept of the Jews which is lodged in the minds of almost all non-Jews. This may be a matter of pride or regret, pleasure or pain, depending on what one likes and what one's tastes may be.

There are in Israel very few eminent bankers, very few eminent lawyers, not many scientists of genius, there are very few persons principally occupied with the accumulation of wealth. Again, there are few professional critics (I say nothing of the amateurs) there are few sophisticated chess-playing, café intellectuals—late-night figures, specialists on a peculiar compound of Freud, Marx, Einstein, or whatever else is at once shocking and fashionable; seekers after strong sensations, partly genuine, partly fraudulent, sometimes interesting, at other times deliberately sordid and obscene, amusing, destructive, superficial, and liable to exhibitionism and vulgarity; with a tendency to flourish within declining or insecure cultures—in the Weimar Republic of Germany, or in certain sections of the United States to-day. Of such there is very little to be seen in Israel, and such forms of activity are not held at a premium there. Tourists who visit Tel-Aviv with the expectation of Jewish activities of this particular kind, and look for these sharp flavours—the fruits of decadence and self-critical desperation—are much disappointed by the relative placidity, relative coarseness; a kind of stubborn normality and a soundness, wholesomeness, dullness—which the Jews have surely richly deserved. For certainly there has been no absence in their lives hitherto of condiment, no absence of salt or pepper and spices of all types. They have had these elements, if anything, in rather too high proportions, so high that they tended to poison both themselves and their neighbours. In Israel these elements are at a discount. What you find are natives of a country, more like the natives of some other Mediterranean state, and not the artificial products of a liberal European *intelligenzia* in decay.

That may be cause for regret, or it may not. Certainly I have known some people who went to Israel and were bitterly disappointed by the fact that the arts do not sufficiently flourish there. There are no great Israel novelists; there are some good short-story writers, but they are older men who perfected their genius before they went to Palestine. There are on

the whole no great thinkers, poets, painters, sculptors, composers; Israeli music is respectable, painting is far from deplorable, writing is moderately good, architecture is improving; and so on. All these activities are reputably carried out. They do not, certainly, lag behind the civilizations of the Middle East, nor, perhaps, even some among the less advanced countries in the west. But the expectation of a sudden efflorescence of genius, this curious hope that the light will come from the east immediately, and without delay; that a nucleus of men of superlative genius would spring forth in this new soil, and at once burst upon the world with a new moral and intellectual message, so that men would wonder how so much astonishing brilliance could be so marvellously gathered together—that, fortunately, has not happened. Israel, consequently, has a chance of continuing to grow, under conditions which may be described as almost normal. This is surely what Herzl wanted to see, although whether all his followers were equally won to the idea of something normal and ordinary is not clear. Certainly among the early Zionist pioneers there were those who spoke as if what they wished to create was a cultural enclave, a super-university, a shrine, a temple at once sacred and secular whose task would be spiritual and educational, and not a community occupied with the daily tasks of ordinary life. Yet I cannot think that it is the duty of any man to produce works of genius and irradiate the world with wisdom. If he does, so much the better for him and for the world. The principal obligation of human beings seems to me to consist in living their life according to their lights, and in developing whatever faculties they possess without hurting their neighbours, in realizing themselves in as many directions as freely, variously and richly as they can, without worrying over-much whether they are measuring up to the best in their own past history, without casting anxious looks to see whether their achievements reach to the highest points reached by the Jewish genius, nor yet looking at other nations, and wondering whether they are developing precisely as other nations expect them to develop.

I spoke earlier of the peculiar self-consciousness—the heightened, sometimes over-acute awareness of themselves and their condition, which is itself a large element in the “Jewish problem.” To this there was bound to be a reaction. And so in Israel one comes across individuals who say: “we are not greatly interested in the outside world. We are the natives of this land. No doubt we did come from outside. And the Americans came from Europe, and so did the Australians and Canadians. But it is a mistake to regard the Australians and Canadians as a species of Englishman, and it is a mistake to regard the Americans as a species of Germans, Italians, Dutchmen, Czechs, etc.; they have a mentality of their own. This is more obvious if you go to America, Australia

and Canada than if you simply study history and look at them from a distance as a kind of extension of a mother country. No doubt we too come from outside, and we are composed of very varying elements from different countries; but the 'pressure cooker' is working well. We are gradually assimilating to a common type; and we cannot be tied in our history to perpetual dependence upon, and concern with, the fate of those Jews who have not followed us, and whose fate is determined by their local position in their local communities, in which they have either chosen to stay, or were forced to stay by circumstances."

This is a very extreme position, and I do not for a moment pretend that it is at all widely held. But in a milder and humaner form it will surely spread. There is nothing unnatural in the fact that there exist people who do not wish to spend their lives in mourning for the six million Jewish dead. They cannot forget them; but neither do they wish to start their lives as the gloomy heirs of a black tragedy; they want to start their lives afresh. Some of them are young, healthy ordinary men and women who are looking forward to a future of normal activity. They wish to be simple, uncomplicated, and shed the neuroses of their ancestors, without perpetual reminders of its past misfortunes. They cannot develop independently so long as they remain a colony with infinite strands binding them to the entire diaspora, feeling in its body every tremor of what happens to the end of these strands in other countries. They are to-day economically dependent on the Jews in the rest of the world; they are excessively dependent in general on the rest of the world, because they are not economically viable, their imports exceed the exports, and so forth. Nor is autarky a desirable ideal for any country. But in the end this excessive dependence will cease, and a new type of man and citizen will develop. He may produce no very sophisticated art, may produce nothing culturally startling or arresting, but he and his fellows will exist, and be happy, and will be a people, and that is surely sufficient.

If a new nation is born which differs altogether from the Jews of the outside world, if a gap occurs—if the Israeli nation gradually becomes almost (never wholly) as different from the Jews of the outside world as other nations are, we shall have no ground of complaint. There are those even among Jews who say that the entire experiment is a kind of "exile from exile." The Jews have been in exile in the Diaspora; and now, in order to escape from its difficulties and burdens, they have voluntarily exiled themselves into a kind of vast ghetto of their own, which possesses all the properties of those from which they emerged, plus the discomforts of the Middle East. But this is quite false, in my view. No country gives less impression of a self-enclosed, timid, cowering

body of persons, huddling together for mutual protection, which is the idea that a ghetto conjures up.

It is true that Israel's problems are many. Apart from terrifying economic problems which I am incompetent to appraise, it is afflicted, at the fringes of the great liberal, semi-middle class body of its population, with political unwisdom both of right and of left wing kinds: not more so than other countries: but, alas, as much. There is the problem of her relations with her neighbours, and perhaps the greater problem of her relations with the outside world. Israelis are of course a predominantly western people, they read western books, they think western thoughts, they go to western films. Their outlook is a western outlook. The symbols, the words in which they think have largely been derived from the traditions of England, of France, of Germany, of America, of all the countries of western civilization. They are to-day faced with the problem of assimilating with—or to—their new immigrants from Oriental countries; the army training which the newcomer undergoes is a great leveller. Will the result be Westernization or "Levantinization"? it is too early to tell.

There is no doubt, moreover, that there is a vast gap between them—even their Oriental portion—and their Arab neighbours, and the Arabs are certainly consumed with hostile sentiment against them. Not as great, perhaps, as the Western friends of the Arabs insist that it is and must be; but great enough to make a second Arab War a dangerous possibility. The relations of Israel with the outside world are difficult. Israel is aware that it has relatively little of material value to offer. It realizes that in some sense it is the plaything of the great powers: Babylon, Assyria and Egypt in ancient days; America and the Soviet Union and Britain to-day. They are still at the crossroads between the great powers, which may support them one day, and drop them the next. The clash of ideologies between the major powers comes into violent play on the soil of Israel, which is a more impressionable medium than almost any other place in the world. In the circumstances Israelis realize that they are a kind of political and intellectual microcosm, in which almost any tendency of the modern world is more clearly visible, more acutely felt and more traceable than anywhere else. They realize this, but there is nothing that they can do to escape it. Their daily cares are greater than the anxieties induced by long-distance prospects. They feel—I think perhaps rightly—that if they behave themselves in an intelligent, moderate and constructive manner, they will survive. The geographical and ethnic factors are inescapable. And on the whole, I should say, they are too wise to brood too deeply about them: day to day cares sufficiently absorb their energies.

If one were a serious sociologist, it is to Israel that one would surely go to-day. There is no place in the world where a greater degree of variety of humanity is observable. Social scientists complain of the absence of "laboratory conditions" in which experiments can be conducted in their disciplines. But these almost obtain in Israel. Nowhere else can one witness so extraordinary a collision of types—of representatives of some ancient pre-classical culture coming into contact with the most sophisticated modern products of the United States; of the most theoretical, intellectually coherent form of, let us say, Marxist ideology, coming into collision with some dim, mystical, almost inexpressible oriental attitude to life. There is no country where so many ideas, so many types, so many ways of living, so many attitudes, so many methods of going about everyday things, have suddenly been thrown into a more violent clash. This is one of the most fascinating spectacles in the world. Yet the sociologists in the world have paid little attention to Israel, and prefer to study the statistical incidence of, let us say, educational methods in mid-Western towns and their correlation with preference for tramways rather than cars. This is virtuous, there is nothing to be said against it. Nevertheless it seems curious to me that sociologists, with the opportunity of studying a phenomenon unique in their field, obstinately avert their gaze and go on burrowing into the dullest and most uniform forms of life that they can find. It is as if there were an eclipse only once in the history of the world, from which some kind of crucial data—refuting and confirming essential hypotheses—could be deduced, and as if the world's astronomers were found firmly pointing their telescopes in some other direction.

From the point of view of Israel itself, as a result of this violent clash and collision of various cultures a common denomination is emerging, something identifiable and fascinating, namely a politically liberal egalitarian human-being, with a mentality not unlike that of the Italian Risorgimento: on the whole left of centre, of a kind rightly admired by English liberals and radicals in the 19th century. And this is the kind of outlook which has set its stamp upon the whole economic and social development of Palestine. None of this could have been deduced from economic needs or the social necessities of the Israeli community.

This seems to me interesting, because it shows the power of ideas and not merely of economic and social pressures. It upsets materialist theories of history according to which environment, or economic factors, or the collision of classes, is mainly responsible for what happens. It upsets the various doctrines in accordance with which Israel could not have arisen at all; the doctrines which the German Marxists and Russian Bundists used to adduce in order to prove the impossibility of a Jewish State, and

all the various doctrines about the assimilation of the Jews, advanced both by Jews and Gentiles, from some set of cut-and-dried premises, some historical theory, some sociological law or system. Nor did the empiricists in the foreign offices of the Great Powers do much better. Very few of the Chancelleries of Europe or America seriously believed in the possibility of the rise of the independent State of Israel. Very few believed that it would ever have the fighting strength, the unity of spirit which would enable it to triumph over so many obstacles. A great many of the prophets were in the grip of various obsolete theories of how nations arise and how they fall, who succeeds and who fails; and on the whole they tended to discount too much the sheer power of human idealism and human willpower.

I do not say that Israel is a large scale experiment. It occupies a very small portion of the earth's surface; the number of persons comprising its population is not large. But its career confutes a number of deterministic theories of human behaviour, both materialist and the fashionable breeds of anti-materialism. And that, I will not deny, is a source of great satisfaction to me, who have always believed such theories to be false in principle, but have never before found evidence quite so vivid and quite so convincing of the absurdity of such views. Israel remains a living witness to the triumph of human idealism and will-power over the allegedly inexorable laws of historical evolution. And this seems to me to be to the eternal credit of the entire human race.